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NURTURING TRANSITIONS: HOUSEWIFE ORGANIZATIONS IN (COLONIAL) INDONESIA, 1900-1972

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Is approved by the final examining committee:

Jennifer L. Foray
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Evie Blackwood

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Approved by: R. Douglas Hurt 4/15/2015
Head of the Departmental Graduate Program Date

NURTURING TRANSITIONS: HOUSEWIFE ORGANIZATIONS IN (COLONIAL) INDONESIA, 1900-1972

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty

of

Purdue University

by

Liberty P. Sproat

In Partial Fulfillment of the

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NOTE ON TRANSLATION

I have relied on newer, standardized spellings of Indonesian words to ensure fluidity in prose and to align with modern-day practices in the Indonesian language. Documents before independence and into the 1950s relied heavily on older Dutch orthography. I have used “u” rather than “oe,” “j” rather than “dj,” and “c” rather than “tj” in the text itself while including original spellings in the footnotes. Only in instances of names (excluding Sukarno and Suharto) have I maintained original spelling. Also, the Dutch word for the Indies (*Indië*) is problematic because its literal translation would be simply “India.” Using this name would lead to confusion for today’s readers, so I have translated *Indië* most often as “the Indies” or sometimes as “Indonesia,” to differentiate this territory from the modern state of India. All translations from Indonesian, Dutch, and German are my own unless otherwise noted.

ABSTRACT

Sproat, Liberty P. Ph.D., Purdue University, May 2015. Nurturing Transitions: Housewife Organizations in (Colonial) Indonesia, 1900-1972. Major Professor: Jennifer Foray.

From 1900-1972, housewife organizations in the Netherlands Indies and Indonesia assisted the population of the archipelago in adapting to the political upheaval that attended Indonesia's national liberation from the Netherlands. Under the Ethical Policy (1900-1942), the Association of Housewives sought to "uplift" indigenous society in the Netherlands Indies through teaching women household management skills including proper sanitation, hygiene, and food preservation methods. Through educational and social welfare initiatives, Dutch housewives maintained the Netherlands' control over the territory while promoting Dutch development efforts. At the same time, the Indonesian women's movement aligned with the Indonesian nationalist movement, as exemplified in the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress. Conference speakers encouraged women to embrace their roles as wives and mothers in order to support the nationalist movement, believing that Indonesian independence would grant them equal rights and provide for their families' welfare.

The Second World War shifted women's activities while reconfirming the important roles they played as mothers of the nation. The Commission for the Organization of Female Labor During Mobilization (COVIM) prepared European

women for possible invasion of the Indies. Upon Japanese occupation of the East Indies, women's organizations dissolved and were replaced by Japanese-led Fujinkai. This organization continued promoting the role of women in national development as it provided for society's needs during wartime and laid the foundation for postwar women's activism. Amidst the unstable years of 1945-1949, the Association of Housewives in Indonesia strove to create a national identity that incorporated women from diverse backgrounds. By engaging in social welfare activities together, women in Indonesia displayed their common devotion to improving the archipelago's welfare.

During Sukarno's administration as President of Indonesia, housewives in the 1950s and early 1960s supported national ideologies that promoted Pancasila. Perwari demonstrated its commitment to the Indonesian government through its activities that aligned directly with Pancasila's five principles. Under Guided Democracy, women continued to support Sukarno's leadership while growing frustrated with his inattention to family and societal needs. Ultimately, Guided Democracy did not provide the reform and prosperity it had promised, and housewife organizations turned towards home economics education as a means to secure their family's welfare. By promoting family welfare and effective household management, housewives supported national development.

Suharto's New Order eliminated most women's organizations and streamlined women's activism into a movement called Family Welfare Development (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or PKK). PKK's existence resulted from the work of housewife organizations in previous decades and aligned with women's commitment to fulfilling their responsibilities as wives and mothers in ways that nurtured national development.

INTRODUCTION

"Third World" has evolved into a outdated term that refers to regions of the world suffering from severe poverty, lack of infrastructure, and political instability. Its origin, however, should remind scholars of its relevance in twentieth-century history, particularly in relation to decolonization and the Cold War. Other terms such as "development" and "modernization" are also used in both formal and informal discussions of recently decolonized nations. These terms, again, have proved problematic in that definitions of what might be considered "developed" or "modern" vary drastically. In this work, I use the term "development" frequently—precisely because this project is an exploration of the variety of notions regarding development in the twentieth century. Also, the terms was commonly used by the historical actors themselves especially in the decades after the Second World War. The original Indonesian references to the idea of development include most commonly the term *pembangunan* as well as the words *pembinaan* and *perkembangan*. The nuanced meanings of these terms incorporates definitions of development that denote not only physical construction but also the more general ideas of growth and progress.

Like "development," what is "modern" must be defined by those seeking its realization. As Nira Yuval-Davis notes, there is debate regarding the extent to which modernization and Westernization should be equated—not only among current scholars

but among historical actors themselves. For many leaders such as Sukarno or Nehru, it was nationalism and socialism that determined the type of modernity required to defeat colonial rule.[1] Certainly, what was considered "modern" to those of the time period under analysis often aligned with Western norms while also frequently rejecting them. References to "modernization" or that which is "modern" in this work result specifically from Dutch and Indonesian derivates of these English terms and are used in direct translations of primary materials. Additionally, I use the term "modern" to identify the latest research trends in home economics. This would include standards of hygiene, cooking techniques, and childcare practices that housewife organizations considered not only the most current but also the most effective. My use of "development" and "modernization" in this work should neither be equated with nor excluded from the implementation of Western philosophies and practices in the "Third World."

Dutch housewives in the early twentieth century did not generally refer to the "development" (*ontwikkeling*) of the Netherlands Indies or its population. This seemed to be a catchphrase (*perkembangan*) particularly appropriate to Indonesia—and used by Indonesian women—in the decades after World War II. Rather, for Dutch women, it was the uplifting (*verheffing*) of the population that described their task in the colonies. Housewife organization materials spoke simply of helping the native population, leading them, or providing advice. So seriously did they take this responsibility that they referred to it as a calling (*roeping*). One can infer from this that Dutch attitudes towards development in the Netherlands Indies in the 1920s and 1930s centered on the mental and spiritual education of the population rather than economic development projects. For

[1] Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 61.

Indonesian women living under Dutch rule, the catchphrase was "advancement" (*kemajuan*), indicating more a sense of spiritual or social progression than economic restructuring.

The chronological scope of this project includes the period of Indonesian national liberation that included the years of late colonial rule, national revolution and war, and nearly three decades of both solidifying and developing the new nation. I incorporate nearly a century of activity into Indonesia's decolonization narrative in order to demonstrate the ongoing processes and complexities of not only gaining political sovereignty but also establishing a nation both its citizens and the international community recognized as united, independent, and viable. It is the history of housewife organizations, however, that establishes Indonesia's story of national liberation in this work. The study begins with the Dutch Ethical Policy and the rise of Dutch women's migration to and activity within the region from approximately the year 1900. Other key moments include the First Indonesian Women's Congress in 1928 and the establishment of the Association of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies in 1931. This study ends with a specific year, 1972, because Family Welfare Development (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*) was established as a nationwide state institution for housewives in this year. Its formation demonstrated the solidification of Indonesian national identity and development goals while formally integrating housewives into political structures.

Within the context of the nation and people of Indonesia in this study, I have used the term "housewife organizations" somewhat loosely. The Association of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies and its reincarnation as The Association of Housewives in Indonesia can be clearly defined as housewife organizations. The membership consisted

of housewives, and the target audience for its magazines were women who sought opportunities to enrich their abilities to manage a household and a family. The example of PKK is also fairly clear—the structure of PKK depends on housewives, who work alongside their husbands, and who also have the time and means to participate in PKK meetings and activities. Perwari, however, was not intended as a housewife organization in the 1950s and 1960s; rather, its target membership included all Indonesian women. PPI, which resulted from the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress, falls into a similar category in that it focused on women's advancement in the context of Indonesian nationalism. PPI's primary goal was to unite women in Indonesia. Perwari and PPI are included in this study because of their general character and because they emphasized the role of wives and mothers in national development. They did not affiliate with a specific political party or a religious sect, but they permeated the common female populace in Indonesia, most of whom were housewives and/or managing homes and families. COVIM and Fujinkai, likewise, targeted a large population that included but did not focus specifically on housewives. Because all other women's organizations had been dissolved, COVIM, which mobilized Dutch women in preparation for war, and Fujinkai, a Japanese-mandated women's organizations provide the only case studies available to understand the work of women's organizations, housewife or otherwise, during World War II. Fujinkai's genealogical connection to Perwari also naturally ties these associations together in this work.

My aim with this work is to clarify the role of women's domestic and community activities in Indonesian national development. This development included primarily the creation and reproduction of national identity, social welfare initiatives intended to

relieve suffering, and educational programs that focused on household and family management. I have chosen to focus specifically on the domestic and community-based activities that emphasize the peaceful and private elements of women's activism. The use of the term "nurturing" in the title of this work deliberately aligns with portrayals of women as the primary caregivers of children and others without expectation of pay. These individuals' greatest responsibility was to manage their families and households, and my work asserts that such tasks took on political relevance. Thus, "nurture" characterizes the types of activities housewives and mothers, in particular, voluntarily engaged in as the means to enrich their homes and communities and constituted a type of informal political and social activism within the nation.

"Nurturing" also denotes a peaceful and patient process, which contrasts starkly with the national and global activities that occurred during the time period in question. Each chapter of this work highlights a political "transition" or what I often refer to as a period of upheaval. The Second World War, Japanese occupation, the Indonesian War of Independence, and the 1965 military coup constitute clear examples of tumultuous change. Other examples such as the implementation of the Dutch Ethical Policy, *Pancasila*, and Sukarno's Guided Democracy would not necessary constitute "political upheaval" but do indicate significant transitions in Indonesian domestic policy. These policy changes incorporated objectives and programs that influenced the entire nation and required social mobilization to secure their success. I argue that housewife organizations proved key to the success of the archipelago's ability to manage and adapt to both global atrocities and the political shifts inherent in twentieth-century history. I conclude that

gender defined women's citizenship obligations and allowed them to integrate national ideologies and state policies into their family and community pursuits.

Nira Yuval-Davis's exploration of gender and the nation has greatly influenced this dissertation. In her book *Gender and Nation*, Yuval-Davis emphasizes the ways in which women have been both expected to and succeeded in confirming national identity and culture. Along with Yuval-Davis, I propose that it is women "who reproduce nations, biologically, culturally, and symbolically."[2] In particular, my work analyzes how women have constructed and reproduced the nation through educational and social welfare initiatives. My work confirms that women's activities have been not only integral but also imperative in the reproduction of Dutch culture in the Netherlands Indies as well as Indonesian national identity. Furthermore, I assert along with Yuval-Davis that women have always been in the "national arena" and "central to its constructions and reproductions."[3] I emphasize women's active participation in national construction from within the more private spheres—whether or not their contemporaries or later scholars have recognized such contributions. As such, I aim to fill a gap in historical understanding of women in Indonesia while also calling for additional scholarship that reevaluates the importance of household and community activities within a nation. Yuval-Davis considers the construction of "home" central to social reproduction of a culture as this is where individuals establish a worldview based on family relations, food, labor, aesthetics, and ethics.[4] Furthermore, women are the "guardians of culture" who

[2] Yuval-Davis, 2.
[3] Yuval-Davis, 3.
[4] Yuval-Davis, 43.

construct the home in a certain way and transmit culture to the children.[5] My intent with this work is to examine how the construction of home coincided with the construction of a nation. Rather than emphasizing cultural aspects, however, I center my arguments on political objectives. I assert that along with reproducing culture, women reproduced nationalist ideologies that aligned with very specific global circumstances as well as shifts in state-initiated programs. I support Yuval-Davis's suggestion that rather than focusing on public/private dichotomies, it is more helpful to differentiate between three spheres: the state, civil society, and family.[6] My work on housewife organizations connects state, civil society, and family activities with each other. I demonstrate that housewife organizations united these spheres into one realm through their aims and activities.

Housewives' activities constituted active citizenship. Like Yuval-Davis, I confirm active citizenship as involving not only rights but also duties and responsibilities.[7] The organizations in my work included leaders and members who reminded each other of their motherhood responsibilities, which they considered citizenship obligations as well. Yuval-Davis asserts that proper social conditions must enable the use of one's rights. I interrogate a variety of conditions and the effects of such in the management of not only one's rights but also their duties. Similarly, Yuval-Davis proposes that obligations prevent citizens from being passive and dependent.[8] I aim to demonstrate that housewife organizations empowered women because they provided opportunities and assistance in their quest to be active, participative members of the Netherlands Indies and then

[5] Yuval-Davis, 116.
[6] Yuval-Davis, 81.
[7] Yuval-Davis, 24.
[8] Yuval-Davis, 92.

Indonesian society. While I recognize the need for rights and their discussion, I have chosen to investigate citizenship duties as voluntary activities that women considered themselves duty-bound to perform by nature of their gender in order to improve national welfare. My intent is to illustrate the vibrancy of housewives' involvement in citizenship obligations. It must be remembered, however, that active citizenship should not be equated with greater ease, prosperity, or equality. As Yuval-Davis points out, "feminist equal opportunity slogans can be used to create further pressures for women, rather than promote their rights."[9] In the case of Soviet Russia in the 1920s, for instance, women's "dual burden" of caring for family while engaging in the labor force became a "triple burden" as the obligation to participate in politics was added to their list of "rights."[10] When women already struggled to balance family and work, they did not eagerly greet the additional responsibility of duty to politics. My work focuses specifically on women who generally did not work outside the home in order to contribute to family income. For the women in my study, the "dual burden" was that of household responsibilities and civic involvement. Active citizenship must, therefore, be considered an obligation that neither includes nor excludes efforts towards gender equality.

Thus, I urge a more inclusive interpretation of citizenship. Such an interpretation must include the realities of many women's lives, which includes motherhood and caring for a home and family. Ruth Lister refers to theories of "activist mothering" in which women, primarly as mothers, "have transgressed the public-private divide in their

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[9] Yuval-Davis, 89.
[10] Anne E. Gorsuch, "'A Woman is Not a Man': The Culture of Gender and Generation in Soviet Russia, 1921-1928," *Slavic Review* 55, no. 3 (Autumn 1996): 643.

struggle to protect their families and communities."[11] This is precisely what I aim to prove in this work—"activist mothering" resulted in the protection and development of families and communities in the Netherlands Indies and Indonesia. Of course, the identity of motherhood does not describe all women's identities. Lister reminds us, however, that "motherhood looms large in the life-courses of many women so that both historically and today it does shape their relationship to citizenship."[12] Rather than portraying motherhood as a passive and weak state, my research reveals the reality of the human life-course, which as Lister notes, experiences various degrees of dependence and independence.[13] My work on housewife organizations embraces the various degrees of dependence found within a woman's life and emphasizes how such changes enabled the solidification and development of Indonesian national identity over time. For example, as Dutch, Indonesian, and Chinese housewives participated in organizational activities intended to lighten the burdens of working mothers in the postwar years, they united the new nation by promoting social welfare initiatives that created an interdependent community of women in Indonesia.

Analysis of housewife organizations also recognizes the reality of many women's preference for informal political activity. Women's supposed invisibility in political activism may be attributed to the tendency to narrowly define politics in term of the masculine, formal sphere. Yet as the example of housewife organizations in twentieth-

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[11] Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*. 2nd ed. (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 147. Ruth Lister's work on citizenship beautifully clarifies the importance of agency in understanding women's citizenship activities. She asserts that studies of women's citizenship in both theory and practice should give due accord to women's agency "rather than simply seeing us as victims of discriminatory and oppressive male-dominated political, economic and social institutions."
[12] Lister, 175.
[13] Lister, 109.

century Indonesia indicates, women have more typically been engaged in informal political activism including community-based actions and social movements.[14] Lister argues, "For many women, involvement in community organizations or social movements can be more personally fruitful than engagement in formal politics, which is often more alienating than empowering."[15] My work emphasizes the empowering nature of community organizations and the personal satisfaction women found as members of housewife organizations. My research supports Lister's call to broadly define political participation "so as to include the kind of informal politics in which women are more likely to engage."[16] By recognizing the common life-course of women as well as the circumstances that fostered political participation in twentieth-century Indonesian history, scholars can better understand the use of women's agency in citizenship duties and political participation.

My hope with this work is to demonstrate the vitality of housewife organizations in maintaining social unity and development in the context of decolonization. In particular, I intend to show that civic organizations such as those discussed in this work have coordinated national and global phenomena with corresponding local and private needs of the time. Even if housewife organizations have not explicitly fought for women's political or civic rights, they have contributed significantly to assisting women in fulfilling their citizenship obligations. Such recognition, I believe, has gone largely unnoticed in the study of international women's organizations of the twentieth century. Recognizing the role of housewife organizations in empowering women to meet their

[14] Lister, 145.
[15] Lister, 32.
[16] Lister, 195-6.

citizenship obligations will reopen and broaden definitions of citizenship that more closely align with many women's lives. Through their dedication and diligence in uniting and developing Indonesian society, housewife organizations have assisted their families, communities, and the nation at large to adapt to the transitions required in the processes of decolonization and nation-building.

This work also emphasizes the constant negotiation between state institutions and civic organizations that occurred during the late colonial period and early decades of Indonesian independence. I incorporate the theories of Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler as they urge analysis of empire that highlights the tensions and complexities of colony-metropole relations. As Cooper and Stoler remind us, "colonial regimes were neither monolithic nor omnipotent." Competing power agendas and competing strategies for maintaining control characterized the imperial ventures.[17] Chapter 1, which focuses on Dutch activities in the East Indies in the 1930s, explores these competing agendas and strategies as housewives incorporated Ethical Policy aims into their organizational activities. Along with Cooper and Stoler, I "explore within the shared but differentiated space of empire the hierarchies of production, power, and knowledge that emerged in tension with the extension of the domain of universal reason, of market economics, and of citizenship."[18] A history of Indonesia that incorporates its colonial heritage allows scholars to better understand the consistency between Dutch imperial and Indonesian nationalist trajectories. I seek to dissect the history of a nation-state in a context that places interethnic women's organizations in colonial and national narratives that align.

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[17] Frederick Cooper, and Ann Laura Stoler, *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1997), 6.
[18] Cooper and Stoler, 3.

By doing so, I clarify the hierarchies of power and knowledge that characterized colonial society in the Netherlands Indies.

Cooper and Stoler's further discussions of empire elucidate the history of Indonesian nationalism. They define tensions of empire as the "imaginary and physical space in which the inclusions and exclusions built into the notions of citizenship, sovereignty, and participation were worked out."[19] Such was key to maintaining imperial rule in the Netherlands Indies in the decades before Japanese occupation as colonial administrators managed a diverse population that included those of European, indigenous, Chinese, Arab, and mixed descent (among others). Such categorization was not limited to the Dutch. During the late colonial period, Indonesian nationalist leaders formulated the identity of the Indonesian nation by integrating colonial policies and rhetoric into their worldview. Such distinctions replicated themselves in women's organizations, and my work illustrates women's application of these categories as well as their rejection of them in favor of unity among women of all backgrounds. The same efforts the Dutch used to categorize social and political relationships under colonialism, as discussed by Cooper and Stoler,[20] epitomized Indonesian nationalist methods. In the case of Indonesia, debate regarding inclusions, exclusions, and notions of citizenship and participation continued to be worked out during the National Revolution and into the early decades of independence. Cooper and Stoler assert that the most basic and central tension of empire was that the "otherness" and difference of colonized peoples had to be both defined and maintained.[21] This tension was central to Dutch authority, pivotal to the development of Indonesian

[19] Cooper and Stoler, 3.
[20] Cooper and Stoler, 11.
[21] Cooper and Stoler, 7.

nationalism, and a primary quest of the Indonesian government as it worked to unify the previously colonized peoples of the archipelago after 1945. Indonesian identity relied on recognizing the differences that separated Indonesians from their European overseers and Asian neighbors. I argue that such a tension provided the foundation for the Indonesian nationalist movement, in addition to being an inherent element of Dutch colonialism, and that defining and maintaining Indonesian difference vis-à-vis metropolitan colonial culture and policy remained integral to the solidification of the Indonesian nation throughout its years of revolution and into periods of state development. Housewife organizations, too, confronted tensions of empire as their membership and organizational objectives shifted based political circumstances.

While this project includes the study of empire, it is primarily a contribution to decolonization or national liberation studies. Martin Shipway notes the different emphases in decolonization studies: first, the study of the end of empire, and second, national or regional studies that "present a more seamless process of political and social development under colonial rule and beyond."[22] My work follows the latter approach as it highlights the activities of housewives through the end of empire into postcolonial Indonesian history. My intent is to demonstrate the seamless processes of informal political activism that began in the colonial period, continued through national liberation, and solidified Indonesian identity as well as the nation's development goals in the first decades of independence. Following housewife organizations as historical actors reinforces conclusions regarding the seamless process of decolonization in Indonesia.

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[22] Martin Shipway, *Decolonization and Its Impact: A Comparative Approach to the End of the Colonial Empires* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2008), 5.

A study of decolonization is the study of national liberation movements. My use of the term "nation" in this project focuses specifically on nationalist ideologies and movements[23] as well as the people included within such ideologies. Additionally, "nation" refers to the Indonesian term *bangsa*, which may be used to either signify the nation or its people. In the materials consulted for this dissertation, the term *bangsa* is used frequently because it was the term Indonesian women used both prior to and after independence. *Bangsa* denotes the people of a nation rather than a politically bound territory (*negeri/negara*). I have sought to keep the use of this term true to its original context. What constituted the nation of Indonesia and how Indonesians characterized their national identity will remain major topics of discussion throughout the chapters of this work. It should be noted, however, that this study focuses specifically on the island of Java, where approximately eighty percent of Indonesia's population lived. Additionally, the organizations discussed in this project were both founded and headquartered on Java. The cities of Batavia (Jakarta) and Yogyakarta played especially prominent roles in the nationalist and women's movements of Indonesian history and are highlighted in this study. Batavia included the highest population of Dutch settlers in the region before the war and experienced a boom in overall population after independence. Yogyakarta has historical significance as the center of the Mataram and Majapahit kingdoms prior to Dutch colonization. It is considered at the heart of traditional Javanese culture as well as the Indonesian nationalist movement. Future studies would do well to incorporate the housewife organizations of Surabaya (East Java) and Sumatra.

[23] Yuval-Davis, 4.

This study's approach to Indonesia's decolonization history emphasizes decolonization as a means of national liberation rather than an end to the Dutch Empire. While I recognize the variety of explanations for Indonesia's eventual independence from the Netherlands, I have chosen to set this narrative in the Indonesian archipelago. Readers should not assume events and attitudes in the Netherlands remained isolated from events in the East Indies. They should keep in mind, however, that this project is a national narrative of Indonesia that incorporates the history of empire rather than a work emphasizing Dutch perspectives that also include Indonesia. Part and parcel of Indonesia's past was the nation's attempt to rid the territory of Dutch influence, and this element is included in this work. Raymond Betts stated, "To decolonize was to cleanse as well as to reject."[24] My research integrates the rejection of Dutch elements in the archipelago within the history of Indonesian national liberation. The Indonesian example, in this case, could be compared to that of Vietnam or other former French colonies, which pushed for a national solidarity that rejected Western culture. Indonesian efforts to create a new community distinguished by unity plays an essential and prominent role in my work.

Uniting the islands and people of Indonesia into one nation required the creation of a common identity that would include all people in the geographical territory seeking liberation from colonial rule. The example of Indonesia aptly and exquisitely illustrates Benedict Anderson's notion of an "imagined community" as it created a new national identity as a means to unify a population. Anderson defines the nation as "an imagined

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[24] Raymond Betts, *France and Decolonization, 1900-1960* (London: Macmillan, 1991), 128.

political community" that is "both inherently limited and sovereign."[25] Additionally, a nation is a creation, something to which future citizens might aspire.[26] Indonesia illustrates Anderson's assertion as nationalist leaders proposed the idea of a sovereign political community well before independence. During the colonial era, the Indonesian nationalist community aspired to obtain sovereignty of a people who had never before been completely unified.

This project explores the creation of the "imagined community" of Indonesia first in the context of imperialism and then as a means to legitimize the new state. Uniting the population as citizens of the new republic confirmed the nation's viability. I conclude further that housewife organizations provided a space for women to act as both subjects of an empire and citizens of a rising nation. Anderson argues that in order to understand nationality, one must "consider carefully how they have come into historical being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time, and why, today, they command such profound emotional legitimacy."[27] My work embraces Anderson's assertion and analyzes how Indonesian nationalism has changed over time in order to command the "emotional legitimacy" that it does today. I analyze the objectives and activities of housewife organizations as they assisted in creating "emotional legitimacy" for either Dutch rule or Indonesian sovereignty. Thus, the history of nationalist ideology plays a key role in my work as I determine the various goals and methods of uniting and developing the country and how women's organizations incorporated such nationalist ideologies. I show the

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[25] Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 6.
[26] Anderson, 67.
[27] Anderson, 4.

relevance of women's organizations in the evolution of national identity and its solidification within the "imagined community" of modern Indonesia.

While my work is a contribution to scholarship on decolonization and nationalism, it also aims to clarify the role of gender in relation to both an empire and a nation. I support Philippa Levine's bold assertion that "the very idea as well as the building of empires themselves cannot be understood without employing a gendered perspective." Levine asserts that gendered interpretations reveal the imbalances and divisions in colonial structures.[28] My work on Dutch women in the late colonial period further reveals the imbalances of colonial structures. Through implementing a gendered perspective, I clarify further the socio-economic and racial imbalances of the Netherlands Indies. Anne McClintock's views support Levine's. McClintock proposes that imperialism was under constant contest that produced extreme imbalances of power.[29] A study of housewife organizations investigates the imbalances of power between women and the state and how they affected their work at home and in their communities. Finally, a gendered perspective of empire—or of a nation—also grants the opportunity to "re-imagine some of the traditional periodizations which have shaped historical writings," according to Levine.[30] Indeed, my work reorders the periodization of Indonesian history by creating a timeline that allows women's organizations to define the chronological scope. I begin with the introduction of the Association of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies in the 1930s and track its genealogy until PKK became a nationwide program in Indonesia in 1972. I place women's interests as the primary focus in both the maintenance of the

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[28] Levine, Philippa, Ed. *Gender and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 1.
[29] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 16.
[30] Levine, "Introduction," 4.

Dutch empire and in the creation and development of the Republic of Indonesia. I use the genealogy of specific housewife organizations such as the Association of Housewives, Perwari, and PKK to redefine imperial and nationalist strategies, their evolution, and to reconnect colonial and nation-state histories.

Portrayals of masculinity and femininity characterized power dynamics in the Dutch Empire. McClintock posits that imperialists frequently saw colonized people as "weak and unmasculine."[31] The Indonesian effort to liberate the nation from the yoke of colonial rule demanded that Indonesians exert their masculinity and strength. Certainly in the case of Japanese occupation and the War of Independence, women's organizations incorporated militaristic attitudes and methods that suited the requirements of combat. General Suharto's ascendance to authority in Indonesia in 1965 confirmed that the state continued to assert its masculinity and militarism as a means of legitimization. My work agrees that women's organizations took upon themselves traditionally masculine activities; yet more importantly, I assert the strength of "women's work" and its vitality in asserting national independence. This project counters notions that women have been required to demonstrate male-determined characteristics of strength in order to assert independence and, instead, highlights the role of what I consider "nurturing" activities in national liberation and development.

Each chapter in this work is based on primary source material found in the monthly periodicals of housewife organizations. These include magazines such as *De Huisvrouw* (1930-1941; 1947-1955), *Isteri* (1929-1930), and *Suara Perwari* (1951-1959). These publications specifically targeted an audience of housewives who had chosen to

[31] Levine, "Introduction," 6.

join organizations that assisted them in household management. Second, they appealed to a large readership with a multitude of interests and, thus, included a diversity of topics. They offer details about the organizations themselves including association board members, common contributors, conference proceedings, as well as advertisements. Chapter 2 includes examination of *Isteri*, but it primarily relies on the transcript of speeches given at the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress because of the historical significance of these meeting to the Indonesian women's movement. Where organizational periodicals were unavailable, such as in the case of Fujinkai during Japanese occupation, I have relied on women's own accounts of participation. Similarly, I have examined manuals and handbooks designed either for individual female readers or for dissemination by women's organizations. Chapter 1 includes material from the archival collection of the Colonial School for Girls and Women, which provided courses to prepare women for managing their households in the Indies. In the case of PKK, training materials were vital to the establishment and proliferation of this organization at the national level. Handbooks and guidebooks such as those consulted for this project highlight both objectives and methods utilized for household management. To emphasize the relevant political transition in many of the chapters, I have also included political materials that had a particularly widespread audience. I attempted to select sources that identified official state policy and national ideologies. Chapter 5 includes discussion of Sukarno's June 1945 speech "The Birth of Pancasila," which provided the foundation for Indonesia's state philosophies. Perwari incorporated Pancasila into its primary objectives as an organization. Chapter 6 explores Sukarno's shift to "Guided Democracy" as the political background and how women's organizations supported Guided Democracy

while finding it unable to meet their personal and family needs. Similarly, Chapter 7 examines the home economics movement in Indonesia under Guided Democracy, which led directly to the establishment of PKK throughout Indonesia in 1972. I place this movement and PKK in the context of Suharto's "New Order" regime to explain the shift in women's organizations that nurtured ecconomic development while diminishing democratic institutions. Thus, my intention with each chapter is to identify state programs that affected the goals and nature of housewife organizations as well as determining attitudes and behavior among the larger populace in the Netherlands Indies and Indonesia.

CHAPTER 1: WOMEN OF THE ETHICAL EMPIRE, 1900-1939

"We Europeans are obligated to lead them in all things, even if it costs us much trouble and displeasure" (From *Het Leven van de Europeesche Vrouw in Indië* by J. Kloppenburg-Versteegh, 1913).[32]

This quotation from a 1913 handbook for Dutch women preparing to settle in the Netherlands Indies reminded readers that they were not simply moving to a new location as they left Europe for the East Indies. While these women awaited new adventures and the ease that would come with multiple household servants, they also sacrificed many of the comforts and familiarities of their homeland. What the above quotation reminded them, however, was the duty and higher purpose housewives faced by emigrating to colonial settlements. Their move to the Indies would place them in situations in which they could—and should—uplift and educate the indigenous population of the region. Such had been the goal in earlier centuries of Dutch history, but this colonial mission intensified from 1900-1939 as the population of Dutch housewives skyrocketed and constituted a powerful force for promoting the Dutch civilizing mission.

[32] Mevr. J. Kloppenburg-Versteegh. *Het Leven van de Europeesche Vrouw in Indië* (Leiden: Deventer Charles Dixon, 1913), 4. The original Dutch reads, "Wij Europeanen zijn verplicht hen in alles voor te gaan, al kost het ons veel moeite en onaangenaamheden."

Dutch presence in what is now Indonesia began in the early seventeenth century with the arrival of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), which had been granted permission by the Netherlands government to monopolize trade activities in Asia. Over the centuries, in order to eliminate competition and ensure its own interests, the Company intervened politically more and more and over a larger area of Java.[33] By the late eighteenth century, however, the company had become bankrupt, and the government of the Netherlands took possession of the VOC's territories. Under state jurisdiction, Dutch colonial rule in the East Indies expanded to cover the entire Indonesian archipelago. By the late nineteenth century, the Dutch had obtained control over many of the political, economic, and social aspects of the colonized regions.

The Dutch government, through the nineteenth century, had considered the Netherlands Indies to be a business concern, and, as such, advocated a laissez-faire policy towards regulating trade in the colonies.[34] Nineteenth-century European liberalism greatly impacted the colonies as capitalism formed the basic economic structure of the East Indies. Critics, however, argued that the same liberal policies promoting economic freedom hindered the social well-being of the indigenous population. Journalist and spokesman for more ethical treatment of the Indonesians, P. Brooshooft stated, "Only compulsory action by the State can force…the greedy plantation-owners to act in a more humane way."[35] The goal of liberal economic policy had been to promote the general welfare for both colonists and the native population. For a time, it did promote economic

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[33] George McTurnan Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1952), 3.
[34] J.S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1944), 174.
[35] P. Brooshooft, "The Ethical Direction in Colonial Policy, 1901" in Penders, C. L. M. *Indonesia: Selected Documents on Colonialism and Nationalism, 1830-1942*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1977, 75.

progress, and production increased. What had been a surplus in state revenue, however, turned into a deficit by 1897 while state expenditures continued to increase.[36] In addition, Dutch conservatives noted great disparities in wealth that put the indigenous population at a disadvantage because they did not benefit from free trade and were susceptible to "predatory capitalists" who exploited both native social structures and the workers themselves.[37] Economic liberalism had failed to develop the region in the ways it had intended.

In contrast to this policy of liberal economics, the Dutch considered infrastructure too important to be left entirely to the private sector.[38] Since the Dutch government took possession of the East Indies in the nineteenth century, the Netherlands had been committed to public works projects such as building the railway, expanding infrastructure, and providing education for the native population. In the nineteenth century, the Dutch government sought ways to balance such projects with encouraging free enterprise. Liberal reformers in the metropole also advocated for social welfare efforts to provide for Dutch settlers, particularly planters and their families, living in the colony. The State was expected to supply schools, medical facilities, proper irrigation, railways, and other public works that supported colonial settlement of the Indies.

This came to a head in the 1870s when the combination of liberal economics and humanitarian intervention created conflict between Dutch liberals and conservatives. The conservatives argued that the liberals advocated what practically amounted to "handing

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[36] Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, 222.
[37] Suzanne Moon, *Technology and Ethical Idealism: A History of Development in the Netherlands East Indies* (Leiden: CNSW Publications, 2007), 16.
[38] Anne Booth, *The Indonesian Economy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A History of Missed Opportunities* (New York: St. Martin's Press in association with the Australian National University, Canberra, 1998), 148-49.

over the Javan to his so-called European friends, and leaving them to balance their love for the native against their regard for their own pockets."[39] Dutch commitment to both free enterprise and social reform had forced Dutch settlers and administrators in the Indies into a conundrum. In 1880, the Dutch conservatives' humanitarian concerns morphed into *Ons Program* (Our Program), a manifesto that supported a doctrine of apolitical "moral responsibility." Dutch policy at the time, while promoting the desire to do something for the Indies, was nevertheless reluctant to actually spend money on social reform.[40] Liberalism proved to be a disappointment both in terms of economic progress and in promoting social welfare, but these liberal reforms demonstrated that the Dutch had emphasized a course of action that prompted both economic growth and social development during the late nineteenth century.

A change in economic and administrative strategy occurred in 1899 with the publication of an article titled "Een Eereschuld," or "A Debt of Honor," by Dutch colonial reformer Conrad Theodor van Deventer (1857-1915). In this piece, van Deventer lamented the huge debt to the Netherlands Indies and demanded at least 187 million guilders be paid from the Dutch government to the Indies to be used for economic development projects that would benefit the indigenous population.[41] By this time, metropolitan and colonial social critics on both the left and right doubted the viability of

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[39] Baron W.J. van Welderen Rengers. *Schets eener Parlementaire Geschiedenis van N-I, 1848-91*. Cited in Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, 175.
[40] Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, 176.
[41] C. L. M. Penders, *Indonesia: Selected Documents on Colonialism and Nationalism, 1830-1942* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1977), 61-2. Dutch home finances and colonial finances in the Indies were not separated, as was the case in the British Empire. Van Deventer said this disadvantaged the Dutch Empire and that the 187 million guilders had been taken from the Indies in the form of contributions since 1867. Thus, van Deventer considered the money taken from the Indies by the Dutch government between 1867 and 1897 to be debt. See J.S. Furnivall, *Netherlands Indies* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1944), 231.

liberal reforms. Continued efforts at pure economic gain faltered as the language of humanitarianism found a higher priority than it had in the liberal phase of colonial rule. Turn-of-the-century critics debated the cause of the Indies' problems, arguing whether they stemmed from European abuse, Javanese resistance to reform, or a faulty colonial system.[42] The resulting "Ethical Policy" derived from skepticism about the colonial system as a whole, especially the colonial government's methods of revenue management that had raised taxes on the indigenous people.[43] Dutch socialists further influenced the Ethical Policy in emphasizing indigenous welfare over colonial profit, giving it the "Ethical" moniker.[44] Other policymakers argued that the state of affairs in the Indies had as much to do with Javanese culture as European abuse: educating the indigenous population would lead to changes of attitude and practice in the Indies and, thereby, to greater prosperity.[45] With the Ethical Policy, state policy shifted from economic growth to an overall uplift and edification of the indigenous population.

Having identified areas of particular concern, Dutch advocates of the Ethical Policy established a plan of action. In 1899, when van Deventer proposed the Ethical Policy, he emphasized the themes of irrigation, emigration, and education. His supporters elaborated upon this plan by determining the following areas in greatest need of development: the soil, forests, and mines; agriculture, industry and commerce; indigenous education, public health care, and credit facilities; and protection of peasants

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[42] Moon, 17.
[43] Moon, 17.
[44] Moon, 18. The term originated from Pieter Brooshooft's pamphlet "The Ethical Course in Colonial Policy."
[45] Moon, 19.

and laborers from capitalist exploitation.[46] These measures constituted a massive undertaking, and despite their enormity, were widely supported by a public in the Netherlands that felt both guilt and duty regarding the East Indies.[47] The Ethical Policy was set, confirmed by Queen Wilhelmina in 1901, and ready to transform the Netherlands' precious Southeast Asian holdings. The Ethical Policy constituted the Netherlands' "civilizing mission" of the early twentieth century, or the empire's objectives for economically developing the region and morally uplifting the population of Indies.

The enactment of the Ethical Policy coincided with demographic changes in the Netherlands Indies during the early twentieth century. Once the Dutch had taken control of the entire Indonesian archipelago in the late nineteenth century, European settler populations expanded rapidly. In 1880, the European population in the Netherlands Indies, a majority of whom were Dutch, was 30,713. By 1900, the population had doubled. It quickly doubled again and then reached 135,288 in 1920.[48] By 1931, the European population in the Netherlands Indies was 242,372, with approximately 200,000 living on Java, the most populous of the islands.[49] So, too, did the overall population of the Netherlands Indies nearly double between 1905 and 1930 from 37 million to 60 million, with the average annual growth of the indigenous population at approximately

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[46] Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, 303.
[47] I. Schöffer, "Dutch 'Expansion' and Indonesian Reactions: Some Dilemmas of Modern Colonial Rule (1900-1942)" in *Geld en geweten; een bundel opstellen over anderhalve eeuw Nederlands bestuur in de Indonesische archipel*. volume 2: Between 1900 and 1942, ed. Fasseur, C. (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1980), 16.
[48] Netherlands Indies Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract for the Netherlands East Indies* (Weltevreden [Batavia]: Department of Agriculture, Industry, and Trade, Landsdrukkerij, 1924), 11.
[49] Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of 1931*, 17.

two percent and European population growth up to five percent.[50] These demographic trends illustrate expansion of the indigenous population but even further growth of the European settler population. Likewise, the population of Dutch women moving from the metropole to the Indies increased three hundred percent between 1890 and 1920.[51] Of the approximately 240,000 Europeans living in the Indies in 1930, 113,000 were women.[52] These women, thus, represented a substantial portion of European settlers in the Indies and contributed greatly to colonial social structures. Eighty-percent of Europeans and seventy percent of Indonesians in the Indies lived on the island of Java with Batavia (modern-day Jakarta) as the capital.[53] Thus, the experiences of Dutch women living on Java, during the decades of intense population growth, represented the most common experiences of colonial settlers during the era of the Ethical Policy.

Colonial projects in the early decades of the twentieth century illustrated Dutch zeal regarding the Ethical Policy. According to Dutch historian Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, in the 1920s and 1930s, the Ethical Policy "lost its progressive nature and turned into mere conservatism, aimed at maintaining '*rust en orde*,' or tranquility and order."[54] In the context of growing nationalist movements in the Indies, tranquility and order promoted Dutch imperial rule and continued its methods of improvement based on Ethical Policy goals. During the 1920s and 1930s, what may be considered the Dutch "civilizing

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[50] Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of 1931*, 19.
[51] J.A.A. van Doorn, *De laatste eeuw van Indië. Ontwikkeling en ondergang van een koloniaal project*. (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1994) 43. Cited in Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 123 endnote 9.
[52] Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 17.
[53] Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State: Essays on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands Indies, 1900-1942* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000), 16.
[54] Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 17.

mission" consisted of the education and uplift of the native population, as it had in previous decades, along with the intention to maintain peace and order in the region.

In early twentieth century colonial Indonesia, the Netherlands realized its civilizing mission in the region by, in part, vigorously enacting specific measures of infrastructural development such as expanding the railroads and building schools for the indigenous population. Even J.S. Furnivall, a contemporary critic of Dutch colonial rule, recognized Dutch commitment to its civilizing mission:

> "Never, perhaps, has any Government set itself so wholeheartedly and with such zeal and comprehensive thoroughness to building up the welfare of its subjects as the Government of Netherlands [Indies] in the beginning of the [twentieth] century. Most of the officials at that time…came to [the Indies] as enthusiastic idealists, filled with ardour to take part in the great civilizing mission of the Netherlands."[55]

My work demonstrates that such zeal penetrated women's domestic and social activities rather than remaining within the male-dominated, formal public sphere. Women, as housewives and caretakers of families and communities, supported the objectives of the Dutch civilizing mission to educate and uplift the indigenous population, maintain tranquility and order, and support financial well-being in times of economic depression.

Historian Frances Gouda has portrayed Dutch women in the late colonial period as part of a colonial project that reinforced social hierarchies. Gouda states, "Dutch women served as foot soldiers—either willingly or with moral qualms—who were in charge of defending an elaborate colonial pecking order that placed indigenous women at the bottom and classified white men at the top."[56] However, Dutch women also had too much time on their hands, and so, as Gouda argues further, women's exclusion from

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[55] J.S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, 382. Spelling and capitalization from original.
[56] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas*, 163

business and politics "left them with little more than anxieties about servants or petty struggles over social credentials as conferred by men in public life." Although Gouda certainly pinpoints women's exclusion from public life and their perceived "obsession with social pedigree"[57] in the Indies, she neglects to explore the vibrancy of Dutch women's involvement in civil society and, in particular, their integration of Dutch colonial aims into daily family and community activities. My work reminds scholars that while it is true that the historical and social climate of the early twentieth century allowed European women in the Netherlands Indies to engage in petty rivalries or whittle away their time with social distractions, one must not ignore women's commitment to development and growth. Women's organizations, in particular, established opportunities for housewives to socialize with each other, develop their own talents and interests, and engage in social welfare and educational projects in the neighboring *kampungs*[58] that brought better hygiene techniques, household efficiency, and economic support to the population.

For European women living in the Indies, daily household management remained their primary concern. The majority of literature regarding housewifery in the Netherlands Indies, including magazines and handbooks, centered on the practical dimensions of life such as of cooking, cleaning, adapting to the climate, raising children, and caring for the family's medical needs. These were the primary concerns of women seeking to maintain their standards of European modernity in a location without the resources and social companionship to which they had been accustomed. But, the

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[57] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas*, 163.
[58] The Indonesian term "kampung" refers to a village-like neighborhood that may be found in an urban setting.

concerns of a Dutch woman in the Indies were not significantly different than those of her counterparts in the metropole; caring for one's family and home no matter the environment connected housewives throughout the globe.

In this chapter, I assert that amidst these primary concerns of home and family, Dutch women integrated Ethical Policy, or civilizing mission, aims into their daily activities. They sought ways to work more effectively with the indigenous population and to develop themselves and their communities. The 1932 book *Vrouwen in Indië*, by Swaan-Koopman, identified Dutch women's duty to their communities as it encouraged and prepared women for life in the Indies. According to the author, women's life in the Indies would be difficult. They would not have the physical comforts and social and educational opportunities they had relied on in their homeland but should think of the environment in which they now lived, for it was under these difficult circumstances that at the end of one's tenure in the Indies might be said, "Her life stands out as a bright line—albeit thin and barely visible in the great world's light—over the islands of the Indian [Indonesian] archipelago."[59] Swaan-Koopman described the life of boredom and ease common to Dutch women living in the Indies. They had servants to care for their needs yet few opportunities to develop themselves intellectually or socially as they would in the Netherlands. So what was the remedy? How could Dutch women in the Indies lift themselves to a higher intellectual and spiritual level? Swaan-Koopman's words of advice answered these questions and emphasized that Dutch women could fulfill their part in the civilizing mission through giving their lives in service to others. Similarly, the

[59] Ir c. Swaan-Koopman. *Vrouwen in Indië* (Amsterdam: H.J Paris, 1932), 13.

author refered to the Christian admonition that only he who will give his life, shall find it.[60] Thus, the civilizing mission and women's responsibility in it was not simply a political matter—it was a religious commandment.

Swaan-Koopman also addressed the natural follow-up question: in what ways can Dutch women in the Indies devote their lives to serving others? Her response to this question indicated a sincere desire for housewives to develop positive relationships with their native neighbors: "It begins with love, love for the land and love for the people."[61] From this love, she proposed, each women would recognize clearly the opportunities around her to serve. Furthermore, she asserted that the women who continually separated themselves from "those natives" or "those Asians" were the ones unable to serve and, therefore, in a state of stagnancy. Women should, instead, develop true love followed by service,[62] and it was this loving service that provided the motivation for uplifting the indigenous population. The author left specific opportunities to serve to her female readers. She advised, however, that all one needed to do was to be willing to say "yes." Say "yes" to opportunities to teach catechism to the youth; seek out children who live too far from school to attend, and provide them with lessons; give advice to those in the *kampung* who need assistance with caring for their children.[63] Swaan-Koopman represented the civically minded portion of Dutch women in the Netherlands Indies who viewed loving service to the indigenous population not simply as a sign of religious devotion but, even more, the responsibility of Europeans to the "unenlightened"

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[60] Swaan-Koopman, 18.
[61] Swaan-Koopman, 18
[62] Swaan-Koopman, 19
[63] Swaan-Koopman, 20.

population native to the region. *Vrouwen in Indië* constituted just one of many handbooks from the early twentieth century that prepared women for adapting to a new life—with great responsibilities—in the East Indies. Such training materials demonstrated that women concerned about their personal spiritual and intellectual growth could find greatest fulfillment, in addition to raising a family, through nurturing those around them—particularly in loving and aiding the native population.

The Colonial School for Girls and Women

Women's preparation to participate in such an "ethical civilizing mission" of the 1920s and 1930s began before they arrived in the Netherlands Indies. The increase of European women emigrating to the Indies in the early twentieth century called for new and expanded training opportunities to prepare women for living in a tropical clime. Men had been traveling to the Indies since the VOC's control of the territory in the seventeenth century, so many resources remained available to prepare them. Most notably, in the early twentieth century, men could attend the Institute for Tropical Medicine Rotterdam-Leiden as well as receive training in tropical hygiene from the Colonial Institute in Amsterdam.[64] By 1920, however, there was no such resource for women. A group of medical and educational professionals expressed concern over the lack of training for women. The founders of what became the Colonial School for Girls and Women (*Koloniale School voor Meisjes en Vrouwen*) worried about the unprepared girls and women going to a strange, faraway land with a totally different climate and

[64] "Radio-Voordracht Gehouden voor de H.I.R.O. op 19 Juli 1938, door Mevr. W.A.L. Ros-Vrijman." Women in the Netherlands East Indies. Part 1: The Archive of the Colonial School for Girls and Women, the Hague, 1920-1949. Microfilm. Accessed through the Center for Research Libraries. (Hereafter shorted to WNEI.) Box 12 of 12.

living conditions. Too many young women had experienced unnecessary sorrow and disappointment, they said,[65] due to lack of preparation that would have enabled them to adapt more effectively to life in the Indies. Furthermore, the founding board members of the Colonial School asserted that a young women needed to understand how to associate with her native servants as well as how she could be a "helper and advisor" for not only her servants but also all the natives in her surroundings.[66] The founders anticipated that establishing a school with courses specifically designed to address these topics would fill a much-needed gap in women's personal well-being as they settled the colonies.

On March 11, 1920, a committee led by director L.M. Hellemans, the organization's president W.A.L. Ros-Vrijman, and several other men and women including doctors and professors, planned for the establishment of the Colonial School for Girls and Women in The Hague as an educational resource for women preparing to live in the Netherlands Indies. It is quite likely that many, if not all, of the founders had themselves spent time in the East Indies, and the school evidently provided frequent lecturers who shared wisdom gained from their own experiences living in the tropics. The school particularly targeted women who would be settling in the hinterlands of the colony, far from the convenience and social support found in large cities. The school aimed to assist these women as mothers by teaching them about hygiene in the tropics, home nursing and first aid, cooking and managing a household in the Indies, interacting with the native population, and gaining knowledge of the Malay language and culture.[67] The

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[65] No author, "Derde Propagandaboekje van de Koloniale School voor Meisjes en Vrouwen," 3. The Hague: 5 April 1925 by the school's board. WNEI. Box 9 of 12.
[66] "Derde Propagandaboekje," 4.
[67] Malay preceded its sister language of Indonesian in the region. Indonesian nationalist groups utilized Malay until the Indonesian language was formally instituted after independence. No author, "Oprichting en

school opened on September 24, 1921.[68] The Colonial School for Girls and Women was the first and only opportunity for housewives and other women in the 1920s and 1930s to prepare for living in the Indies.[69] As such, it was vital in helping women adapt to the changes inherent in settling in the tropics as well as solidifying their understanding of their role in the Dutch civilizing mission.

The founding board members of the Colonial School for Girls and Women asserted in 1920 that the European woman in the Indies had "a task, a calling to fulfill, that will guard her from isolation and homesickness."[70] The purpose of the Colonial School for Girls and Women aligned with what Locher-Scholten has poignantly asserted regarding European women in the colonies: "Women were responsible for civilizing the untamed colonial community, as part of what was considered a 'civilizing mission.'" This included educating their children as well as their servants and developing or uplifing "the indigenous population in their direct surroundings."[71] As handbooks at the time had also intimated, the school believed that giving oneself in service to the larger cause of educating and uplifting the native population was an effective strategy in overcoming feelings of loneliness typical for Dutch housewives in the Indies. In its propaganda materials, the school made clear that a woman's proper preparation for living in the Indies would benefit herself as well as others. She could provide great support to her

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Instandhouding van eene Koloniale School voor Meisjes en Vrouwen," The Hague 20 April 1920. WNEI. Box 12 of 12.

[68] "Derde Propagandaboekje," 3.

[69] "Radio-Voordracht Gehouden voor de H.I.R.O. op 19 Juli 1938, door Mevr. W.A.L. Ros-Vrijman." WNEI. Box 12 of 12.

[70] "Oprichting en Instandhouding." The original Dutch reads"Zij voelen daardoor, dat zij in Indië een taak, eene roeping te vervullen hebben, die haar behoeden zal voor vereenzaming en heimwee."

[71] Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 125.

husband in his work and aspirations.[72] A happy husband who served as a civil servant, military officer, or the like benefited the larger colonial and indigenous communities. Thus, the school assisted women both as housewives and as European "civilizers" of the natives—two roles that intertwined.

The school continually referred to this "task" (*taak*) of the European woman in the Indies. So, for instance, a November 1925 newsletter article proposed that this task was both practical and moral as it discussed a presentation given at the Colonial School about poor women in the Indies. The speaker, a Mrs. G.A. van Loo-Rootlieb, stated that there was still "much to do" in that poor girls in the Indies desperately needed the help of European women.[73] A similar article from *De Nieuwe Courant* about van Loo-Rootlieb's presentation described the Colonial School as preparing girls and women both morally and socially for her "task" as woman in the Indies—within her capacity as wife and mother as well as in her duty as a European woman to the native population. Van Loo-Rootlieb addressed her fellow women who were prepared to assist in the "blossoming" (*opbloei*) of Indies society. She called upon every woman going to the Indies to help, both morally and materially, to relieve the suffering of the colony's women living in poverty.[74] A propaganda book for the school reminded women of the ramifications of being adequately prepared to contribute in the Indies. The school urged the Dutch population to never forget that "this institution is also of greatest importance to Indies society, for they can do nothing but win, when the women are prepared for the task that

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[72] "Oprichting en Instandhouding."
[73] No author. "De Taak der Europeesche Vrouw en het Vrouwelijk Pauperkind in Indië," *De Indische Verlofganger*, 20 November 1925. WNEI Box 10 of 12.
[74] No author. "De Taak der Europeesche Vrouw in Indië," *De Nieuwe Courant*, Wednesday 18 November 1925. WNEI. Box 10 of 12.

awaits them as they set foot on Indies ground."[75] The school proposed that the indigenous population would "win," or greatly benefit, from the preparation of European women emigrating to the Indies. The Colonial School for Girls and Women was, thus, established to alleviate the struggles of individual women preparing to settle in the Indies while also reminding them of their higher purpose in contributing to the greater good.

The school targeted housewives and future housewives. While self-sufficient women were welcome to attend the school, its target audience remained housewives of Dutch men working in the Indies. An undated advertisement for the school read: "The Colonial School for Girls and Women is based on the goal of preparing prospective wives of civil servants, officers, and planters for the task that awaits her in the tropics as wife and mother."[76] Students would attend the school for a three-month-long course, and the school held three course sessions per year. The director—a former nurse—was L.M. Hellemans, who also taught courses about caring for the sick.[77] Others included the President of the school, W.A.L. Ros-Vrijman; university professors; and other professionals brought in to train women regarding specific aspects of household management and life in the Indies. A 1933 newspaper article for the school described the importance of learning housewifery skills: "The life of a housewife in the Indies can, if she understands her task well and is properly prepared, be full of beautiful and useful

[75] "Derde Propagandaboekje," 22. The original Dutch reads: "Dat men in Indie niet vergete, dat deze instelling ook voor de Indische maatschappij van het grootste belang is, want zij kan niet anders dan er bij winnen, dat de vrouwen voorbereid voor de taak die haar wacht, den Indischen bodem betreden."
[76] WNEI. Box 5 of 12.

[77] See a variety of course schedules in WNEI. Box 10 of 12.

work."[78] Additionally, the training a student received at the Colonial School would "arm her against the many dangers that could threaten her."[79] She would learn how to interact with servants, maintain high standards of hygiene, provide first aid, preserve food, obtain reliable drinking water, speak Malay, cook, sew, and enrich her mothering skills. Locher-Scholten pointed out that the school prepared women to be pioneers in medical care and to become "active mothers" who were responsible for their own families as well as many others.[80] Clearly, a well-trained housewife meant a contributive and reliable member of colonial society.

Classes were held Monday through Friday, both in the mornings and afternoons, and course tuition cost ninety guilders,[81] which would have been a substantial fee at the time. Course schedules from 1923-1926 identify the breadth of topics used in training students. Classes educated students how to care for the sick, mother, cook both Dutch and Indonesian dishes, sew, and care for animals in the tropics. Other courses addressed topics such as Malay language and culture, social life, and more. Approximately a dozen instructors, both male and female, taught the students.[82] Although the school began relatively small, it attracted significantly larger numbers of students each year of its operation. On April 1, 1925, an annual report of the Colonial School stated there had been a total of 132 students who had gone through the school's courses.[83] Most graduates were either engaged or married to officers, civil servants, planters, or missionaries headed

[78] No author. "Koloniale School voor Meisjes en Vrouwen." No newspaper title. No date. WNEI. Box 6 of 12.
[79] Ibid. The original Dutch reads: "Ouders, die hun dochter naar Indië zien wegtrekken, haar met geruster hart van zich laten weggaan, als zij weten, dat hun kind gewapend is tegen de vele gevaren, die haar bedreigen kunnen."
[80] Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 98.
[81] See advertisements and class schedules included in WNEI. Microfilm. Box 5 of 12.
[82] See a variety of course schedules in WNEI Box 10 of 12.
[83] No author. "Vijfde Jaarverslag," 1. WNEI. Box 7 of 12.

to the tropics.[84] By the end of 1929, there had been a total of 540 students pass through the school's courses, with another sixty who had enrolled in courses for the first two sessions of 1930.[85] The yearly total of students was as follows:

Table 1. Students of the Colonial School

Year	Number of Students
1921	14
1922	42
1923	34
1924	42
1925	52
1926	61
1927	95
1928	100
1929	100

Continued attendance data proved the school's appeal to women preparing for life in the tropics. A radio broadcast in 1938 indicated that attendance remained high, and it was during this year that the one thousandth student passed through the school.[86] In less than two decades, the Colonial School for Girls and Women assisted over one thousand Dutch housewives in preparing for colonial settlement. Most of these women emigrated to the East Indies, but others settled in the Netherlands West Indies, South America, or other foreign locations where their husbands had become employed.

It is unclear how many of the graduates ended up actually living overseas, but the commitment required to graduate from the school assumed students' imminent departure and earnest intent. Neither did the school indicate the average length its graduates resided

[84] "Vijfde Jaarverslag," 5.
[85] No author. "Tiende jaarverslag," 2. Approved at the member gathering held on 12 May 1930. WNEI. Box 8 of 12.
[86] "Radio-Voordracht Gehouden voor de H.I.R.O."

in the Indies. The school's success, however, could be seen in praise by its former students within a few years after its estalishment. A 1925 propaganda book for the school included testimonials of graduates now living in the East Indies and elsewhere. These women thanked their teachers and expressed gratitude for the training they had received as it had been essential in adapting to their new home. Students particularly mentioned the mothering courses and Malay language courses as having properly prepared them for life in the tropics.[87] The school remained in existence although inactive during the German occupation of the Netherlands from 1940-1945. In 1946, the school reinvented itself as the Indies School for Girls and Women (*Indische School voor Meisjes and Vrouwen*), eliminating all references to colonies in its materials.[88] The school closed in 1949 as the Netherlands transferred sovereignty of the colonies to the Republic of Indonesia.

During the final decades of Dutch presence in the Netherlands Indies, the Colonial School for Girls and Women had prepared housewives to adapt to living in the tropical colonies while empowering them to fulfill their "task" within the Dutch civilizing mission to uplift the population of the Indonesian archipelago. In their capacity as housewives, Dutch women promoted colonial goals based on the Netherlands' intent to develop the region and its population. Such development centered on education of Europeans who, in turn, educated the indigenous population. The Colonial School trained women to be more effective mothers and household managers, and in such capacities, they furthered political objectives. The Colonial School for Girls and Women provided

[87] "Derde Propagandaboekje," 8-10.
[88] See "Statuten" and various meeting minutes from the years 1946-1949 in WNEI. Box 1 of 12. In the organization's statues, you can see all references to the colonies crossed out and replaced with either "*Indische*" or "*tropen*."

the first institution in a series of women's organizations that would utilize "woman as housewife" to accomplish state development initiatives.

The Association of Housewives

The Colonial School for Girls and Women worked in conjunction with other organizations, including the Dutch Association of Housewives (*Nederlandse Vereniging van Huisvrouwen*), which had been formed in the Netherlands in 1912. For example, the minutes from the December 4, 1922 meeting addressed business dealing with the branches of the Association of Housewives in both Arnhem and Rotterdam, the Netherlands.[89] The school's President also periodically gave radio broadcasts by request of the Dutch Association of Housewives during the "housewives half hour."[90] The school and the association seemed to have a fruitful and positive relationship—committed to similar goals. In fact, graduates of the Colonial School could even join one of the Association of Housewives' branches in the Netherlands Indies, further aiding women's peaceful transition to their new home environment and continued mastery of housewifery skills.

As a colonial subsidiary of the Dutch Association of Housewives, the Association of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies was established in 1931 and became one of the largest European organizations in the colony in the 1930s. The Association of Housewives in the Indies consisted of several branches throughout the colony: in Batavia, Bandung, Semarang, Surabaya, Medan, Malang, Palembang, and elsewhere. Periodically,

[89] Minutes of the Colonial School. Monday, 4 December 1922. WNEI. Box 1 of 12.
[90] For example, see "Radio-Voordracht Gehouden voor de H.I.R.O. op 19 Juli 1938, door Mevr. W.A.L. Ros-Vrijman." WNEI. Box 12 of 12.

the various regional branches met together, and the Union of Associations of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies was founded in December 1932 to include the members in Batavia, Bandung, Semarang, Sukabumi, and Surabaya.[91] By March 1934, there were a total of 5,300 members in the Union, with another 1,300 members in the associations of Malang, Medan, and Bekulen.[92] At its peak, the combination of members in all branches of the Association of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies had more than 10,000 members, including *priyayi* women (upper-class Javanese), who lived mostly in Javanese cities and North Sumatra,[93] where the highest concentration of European settlers resided.

The purpose of the Association of Housewives in the Indies was to raise the standard of family and household management by creating a bond between housewives and providing information regarding every aspect of the housewife's work.[94] Through this and other women's organizations (as Locher-Scholten concludes), "modern ideas about households, hygiene, and female participation in politics found expression."[95] The association organized frequent gatherings; published a monthly magazine, *De Huisvrouw in Indië* (The Housewife in the Indies); and held demonstrations, lectures, and courses. Members of the association paid dues, which helped fund the organization. In addition, members could further support the magazine and the association through volunteer work such as recruiting new members and extending the circulation of the monthly magazine. As the association grew throughout the 1930s, the content of the magazine indicated a

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[91] "Bond van Vereenigingen van Huisvrouwen in Ned.-Indie," *De Huisvrouw in Indië*, March 1934, 153. Microfilm.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, "Colonial Ambivalencies: European Attitudes towards the Javanese Household (1900-1942) in *Women and Households in Indonesia: Cultural Notions and Social Practices*, edited by Juliette Koning, Marleen Nolten, Janet Rodenburg, and Ratna Saptari (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000), 41.
[94] See the goals of the association, included in the front matter of each issue of *De Huisvrouw*.
[95] Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 35.

larger membership and greater funding that allowed more field trips, exhibitions, courses, projects, and better developed magazines.

In addition to assisting housewives' proper household management, the association engaged in community health issues that educated the indigenous population regarding proper sanitation and hygiene. It also supported local businesses in that members of the association received discounts when showing their membership cards to particular vendors. The association also regularly provided courses in handiwork, educated readers about world history and politics, and addressed current political and social issues such as the indigenous women's movement and education reform. Active members of the association could participate in both book and film discussions, attend field trips to automotive factories, acquire foreign language skills, or enroll in sewing and cooking classes. These examples indicated that the Association of Housewives provided opportunities for its members to become well-rounded individuals. Additionally, members of the association included housewives of various socio-economic classes.[96] Thus, the association assembled a variety of women, mostly European, all united under the common duty of being a housewife.

The Association of Housewives granted opportunities for women to support Dutch efforts at the development and modernization of the Netherlands Indies. Such modernization centered on the "professionalization of the household,"[97] in which education and training spread the latest principles and practices of home economics. As Dutch women managed their households more efficiently and raised healthier families,

[96] This conclusion can be drawn through the organization's varying charges for helping to provide housekeeping assistance for members of the organization based on family income and size. These charges are described in the front matter of each issue of *De Huisvrouw*.
[97] Locher-Scholten, "Colonial Ambivalences," 39.

they propagated modern, Western ideals centered on the middle-class cult of the family.[98] Dutch educators believed, further, that teaching home economics to Indonesian girls and women was essential in Western attempts at "uplifting" the indigenous population. It was the edification, the "Indo uplift" (*verheffing van de Indo*) that anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler indicated was "a principal focus of Dutch philanthropic organizations."[99] Although its primary goal was not philanthropy, the Association of Housewives recognized its capacity to improve the well-being of its members as well as that of colonial communities. The "task" discussed by the Colonial School for Girls and Women reappeared in the Netherlands Indies through the Association of Housewives' educational and social welfare initiatives that aimed to "uplift" standards within both Dutch and Indonesian households. Thus, the Association of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies complemented the preparation Dutch women had received in the Colonial School for Girls and Women by perpetuating notions of a modern household. This type of home economics education assisted Dutch women in adapting to life in the tropics while also encouraging them to participate in the development of indigenous household practices. Analysis of the activities of this association, as described in its monthly magazine *De Huisvrouw*, reveals specific methods Dutch housewives utilized to complete their "task" in uplifting Indonesians through the modernization of the household.

The Calling to Educate and Serve

One of the primary goals of the Ethical Policy was to expand educational opportunities in the Indies.[100] As the "foot soldiers" of the colonial mission, women

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[98] Locher-Scholten, "Colonial Ambivalences," 29.
[99] Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, 121.
[100] Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 19.

supported this aspect of the Ethical Policy through, first, facilitating their own children's education. In 1934, the association urged mothers to nurture children's interests and talents and to help young women determine career paths that were most likely to result in good employment. Articles from this year discussed women's occupations, urging readers of *De Huisvrouw* to find something within the fields of education, secretarial work and typing, housekeeping, religious instruction, nursing, and music and art.[101] The association informed readers of the different types of schools children could attend to prepare for careers and what to expect.[102] In other words, to effectively mother and raise families, these women had to educate themselves regarding training opportunities for their sons and daughters, whose educational growth would perpetuate the goals of the Ethical Policy and colonial mission. Their children, properly educated and trained, could uplift colonial society as knowledgeable and skillful employees for government organizations or private companies. A mother's duty was to help ensure that their children contributed in such ways.

Along with assisting Dutch women's duty to support their children's education, the association addressed women's concerns with the situation of primary and secondary education in their communities. In the August 1934 issue of *De Huisvrouw in Indië*, one "v.d.K" explained the changes that were being made in the colonial educational system. The new school would be a complete alteration and would focus on the "spiritual [*geestelijk*] abilities of the child." Students would learn about themselves and their environment. Topics of instruction would center on actual life situations and things of

[101] B.W. "Beroepskeuze I," *De Huisvrouw in Indië*, April 1934, 196. Microfilm.
[102] B.W. "Beroepskeuze II," *De Huisvrouw in Indië*, May 1934, 241-2. Microfilm.

importance to the child. Additionally, the reformed school system would encourage students to establish their own goals.[103] Such a shift in colonial education exemplified not only the Ethical Policy's initiative to expand education in the archipelago but also the Netherlands' interest in making education more available and applicable to a larger population. Although these school reforms applied to specific European schools in Batavia rather than indigenous schools throughout the region, they typified Dutch women's commitment to the educational and moral edification of the population. Housewives would be concerned about the quality of education and the most effective pedagogical methods. The association included discussion of educational developments in its magazine, knowing that housewives' participation in instructional decisions provided a means for women to support the welfare of their families and the community.

The Association of Housewives in the Indies also supported educational opportunities specifically for women of mixed Indonesian and European heritage. In 1934, the Association supported social work in Batavia by highlighting the I.E.V. (*Indo-Europeesch Verbond*) Women's Organization, a political group that supported Indo-European women and girls in the Indies. This women's organization was a branch of the Indo-European Alliance, founded by the Eurasian community of the Netherlands Indies to support greater racial equality between Europeans and Indonesians. The stated objective of the I.E.V. Women's Organization was "the uplift, especially social and spiritual, of the Indo-European girl and the Indo-European women in the Indies."[104] The I.E.V. Women's Organization's method of uplifting its beneficiaries aligned with the

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[103] v.d.K. "Onderwijshervorming," *De Huisvrouw in Indië*, August 1934, 364-5. Microfilm. The original Dutch is "de geestelijke vermogens van het kind."

[104] "De opheffing, vooral maatschappelijk en geestelijk, van het Indo-Europeaesche meisje en de Indo-Europeesche vrouw in Indië."

methods proposed by both the Colonial School in The Hague and the Association of Housewives in the Indies. The I.E.V. Women's Organization provided courses to help women learn homemaking and basic employment skills. The curriculum of the organization's school was the same as the government schools, and it was established for European girls,[105] but ten percent of the student population was kept open for Indonesian and Chinese girls. The article confirms, however, that the organization's purpose was to help Indo-European girls. They also staffed a consultation office for anyone, whether a member of the organization or not, to receive instructions regarding proper infant care,[106] emphasizing the goal of effective household management and childrearing as a means of development in the Indies. The I.E.V. Women's Organization supported the educational initiatives in the Indies under the Ethical Policy while providing practical opportunities for disadvantaged women to receive proper training for both the home and the workplace.

The Association of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies consistently offered courses to help women improve their homemaking skills in an effort to modernize the Dutch household in the Indies. Typical courses addressed topics such as cooking foods from different countries, needlework, handicrafts for children, gymnastics, bridge, floral design, and sewing.[107] The fact that the association consistently provided educational instruction for women demonstrated the importance of education as a tool of both personal and community enrichment. The motivation of the organization's leaders was

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[105] Legally, the category "European" would have included Europeans as well as those of mixed Indonesian-European descent.

[106] C.v.d.K.—J. "Iets over het Maatschappelijk Werk te Batavia," *De Huisvrouw in Indië*, October 1934, 448-9. Microfilm. Although the Association of Housewives in Batavia only provided an update of the I.E.V. Women's Organization's efforts rather than creating a formal alliance, the Association clearly supported other organizations within civil society that sought to educate the population as a means of economic and moral development. Updates from I.E.V. frequently appeared in *De Huisvrouw*.

[107] Lists of courses were included in the front matter of each issue of *De Huisvrouw* througout its publication run in the 1930s.

similar to that of the founders of the Colonial School for Girls and Women; they believed that training effective housewives would benefit both families and Indies society in general. As nurturers of the colonial mission, women improved their household management capacities in order to provide a positive example and lead the native population of the region.

The professionalization of homemaking, based on these examples of home economic instruction, sought to modernize the household while also conforming with Dutch colonial aims to provide order to Indies society. Through maintaining traditional divisions of labor and creating a *gezellig* (cozy) home, Dutch women support the colonial aim of "*rust en orde*," or tranquility and order, which characterized the 1930s. Frances Gouda proposed that tranquility and order came in reaction to both the Indonesian nationalist movement and communist insurgency in Java and Sumatra in the late 1920s. The policy of "rust en order" repressively countered the idealism of the Ethical Policy from early decades. [108] By maintaining a house of order in which gender roles remained clearly defined, Dutch housewives assisted in the establishment of order amidst chaos. While social tensions, poverty, and disease raged in the archipelago, Dutch housewives created a peaceful and safe haven for their families and communities.

Just as the Colonial School for Girls and Women had prepared women to do while still in the Netherlands, the Association of Housewives enacted programs to educate Dutch women in the colonies who, in turn, instructed the indigenous and uneducated women of their communities. Well-trained housewives were in greater positions to assist the less fortunate in the *kampungs* as they led the movement to modernize the household

[108] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas*, 26, 94.

as a means of social development. Gouda discusses colonial discourses that suggested "a mixture of maternal models of empathetic caring for the welfare of indigenous peoples as well as more explicitly paternalistic equivalents, which emphasized the rigorous training of throngs of native children."[109] The Association of Housewives incorporated maternal modes of paternalistic colonial policies that advocated widespread education of the native populace. Modernization and development, in this case, indicated the Westernization of the household. The Dutch civilizing mission encouraged women to "lead the way" in household practices that had yet to be integrated by the native population. Dutch women who managed their households according to the latest trends in home economics created an ideal they anticipated Indonesian housewives might follow. Likewise, Dutch housewives could actively share their understanding of household management with the indigenous population.

Materials intended for women either preparing to emigrate to, or who already resided in the Indies, pinpointed cleanliness as a primary aspect of household management that Dutch women were responsible to teach the indigenous population. For example, a 1913 handbook for women migrating to the Indies provided tips on cleanliness as it noted the apparent differences between Dutch and Indonesian standards. The author, Mrs. J. Kloppenburg-Versteegh argued, "Understanding of cleanliness is not well developed among [the Indonesians]; thereby comes their profound laziness that prevails above all." In the late colonial period, Dutch development of the East Indies entailed promoting greater cleanliness among the indigenous population. Indonesians' lack of cleanliness seemed to the Dutch to be not just a matter of lack of education but

[109] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas*, 176.

also an element of Indonesian culture. To the Dutch, laziness and low standards of cleanliness went hand in hand; it was up to the European to teach and encourage the indigenous population regarding proper standards of sanitation and hygiene. The author of the 1913 manual argued that it was the duty of Europeans to lead the way, no matter the burden or inconvenience it caused: the chance to fight "contamination" would be greatly rewarded.[110] Dutch standards of cleanliness, indeed, fostered condescending attitudes towards a native population unaccustomed to Western hygiene and sanitation. The advise of this handbook noted, however, that Dutch women had a responsibility to teach and train. It encouraged them to go to great efforts and accept the burden placed upon them to educate the local population—in addition to their families—regarding topics of practical importance to women in the home. Dutch women may have hesitated to actively involve themselves in indigenous affairs, but advice at the time promised them that anything they did to assist in developing colonial society would bring positive results. Just as a housewife's work in the home provided tranquility and order for her family, so her work in the *kampungs* led to tranquility and order for colonial society.

The Association of Housewives in the Indies provided Dutch women with opportunities to accomplish the "task" they had been trained to do at the Colonial School. This task centered on uplifting Indonesians. European women did so through welfare projects in the *kampungs* within and surrounding Batavia. Welfare projects were especially needed in the early 1930s due to the global economic crisis, and the Netherlands Indies had been hard hit by the economic crisis because it was an exporter of

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[110] Mevr. J. Kloppenburg-Versteegh. *Het Leven van de Europeesche Vrouw in Indië*. Leiden: Deventer Charles Dixon, 1913, p. 3-4.

raw materials.[111] Dutch women recognized that if Europeans living in the Indies suffered from unemployment and poverty, the indigenous population, likewise, suffered. Therefore, it was Europeans' moral responsibility to help them.[112] Editors of *De Huisvrouw* advocated the following policy regarding social welfare: "Where need is, help must be given."[113] Europeans should not discriminate against Indonesians when providing help to those who suffer. For example, in 1934, after seeing the intense poverty in the *kampungs*, a group of approximately five women, both indigenous and European, formed a committee to help the needy. In this instance, women of differing ethnicities worked together to address the ill conditions villagers often faced, including poor sanitation and stomach illness. The author of a *De Huisvrouw* update on social work in Batavia, overwhelmed by the destitution she witnessed, expressed skepticism of the project but then explained the aid that was indeed brought to these villages. In three weeks, these women provided assistance to twenty families in one village. First, they visited individual homes to assess families' needs. They determined that poor shelter and lack of clean water sources presented the most difficult, yet relievable, challenges.[114] A later update on social work in Batavia mentioned efforts to distribute milk to poor children and the establishment of clinics to vaccinate babies.[115] Through such social welfare projects, the association proved that the practical improvement of living conditions in the Indies was possible, particularly as Europeans and Indonesians

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[111] Louis L. de Jong, *The Collapse of a Colonial Society: The Dutch in Indonesia during the Second World War*, 23.
[112] v.L. "Nog Iets over Maatschappelijk Werk," *De Huisvrouw in Indië*, April 1934, 194-5. Microfilm.
[113] The Editors, "Rectificatie" in response to "Iets over het Maatschappelijk Werk te Batavia,"*De Huisvrouw in Indië*, May 1934, 233.
[114] v.L. "Nog Iets over Maatschappelijk Werk," *De Huisvrouw in Indië*, April 1934, 194-5. Microfilm.
[115] C.v.d.K.-J., "Iets over het Maatschappelijk Werk te Batavia,"*De Huisvrouw in Indië*, May 1934, 231-233. Microfilm

combined efforts to bring relief and training to indigenous society. Perhaps Dutch women anticipated that, eventually, Indonesian women would be able to aid their own communities. For now, however, Dutch women considered themselves the primary caregivers in colonial society.

The Task to Protect

As will be discussed in the following chapter, "Mothers of Indonesia," the Ethical Era coincided with an indigenous women's movement that promoted female education, marriage law reform, and an end to human trafficking and prostitution. Dutch housewives were interested in the circumstances of Indonesian women and hoped to aid them in their efforts towards equality. This was demonstrated in the March 1934 issue of *De Huisvrouw in Indië*, in an article that narrated the history of the indigenous women's movement, with special discussion of the role of Kartini in beginning this movement. After discussing such issues as polygamy, the article concluded that the indigenous women's movement, unfortunately, banned any help from Western women. It argued that "The Eastern woman is still just in the beginning of her awareness," and Western women should thus avoid interference. Once Eastern woman (which would have included Indonesian women as well as her Asian sisters) better determined her position in society, then Eastern and Western women could work together in expanding women's political interests.[116] From this, one might conclude that Dutch women felt an obligation to aid the indigenous women's movement but felt lack of permission to do so. Certainly, European

[116] W.M. van der Heide, "Uit de inheemsche Vrouwenbeweging," *De Huisvrouw in Indië*, March 1934, 159-60. Microfilm. The Dutch original is "De Oostersche vrouw is nog pas in 't begin van haar bewustwording."

and Asian women faced common obstacles to gender equality. Indonesian women such as Kartini who had received Western education, in particular, would have advocated social reforms that aligned with those proposed by Dutch women. Yet, Dutch women were correct in recognizing that the indigenous women's movement in Indonesia was a movement of its own that marked its contrasts with Western women's movements. The 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress, discussed in the following chapter, determined that the indigenous women's movement was intimately connected with the Indonesian nationalist movement. Under these circumstances, it was unlikely that Dutch and Indonesian housewives—other than the few *priyayi* women who joined the Association of Housewives or others with Western sympathies—could work together towards common goals amidst such differing motivations.

Dutch women, however, did engage in activities meant to benefit women no matter the ethnicity. Initiatives of the Association of Housewives and its affiliate organizations in the Indies promoted better treatment of women and girls regarding many of the same issues that concerned Indonesian women at the time. For example, in 1934, the Dutch Women's Union (*Nederlandsche Vrouwenbond*), which fought against the trafficking of women and girls and the regulation of prostitution,[117] created temporary housing for unwed mothers and those needing to start a new life. This Union had been established in the Netherlands in 1884 and included seven hundred members throughout that country. Additionally, the Union worked in Batavia. Since 1900, a small house called *Pension Vrouwenbond* (Women's Union *Pension*) provided assistance and shelter for a

[117] It is unclear if this Union fought against the trafficking of women throughout the world or if it targeted specific regions.

handful of working women.[118] In cases such as this, the "moral uplift" of the indigenous population coincided with an Indonesian women's movement that also sought to improve women's lot.

Women's "task" in the civilizing mission included not just the physical protection of women but also the moral protection and guidance of those living in the Indies. As Stoler has noted, Dutch-born women saw themselves as the "custodians of morality."[119] In 1939, the Association of Housewives expressed concern about the spiritual and moral welfare of society, particularly of young women throughout the world. In May of this year, one "Z" called for a spiritual and moral rearmament (*herbewapening*) of society. The author asserted that the values of family, church, city, and state were no longer foundations in society and called for a new set of rules to replace the egoism so prevalent in society. Individualism had altered rules of behavior from former days, and freer associating between boys and girls, "sportier clothing," going to the movies without a chaperone, women working in offices and factories, and the dissolution of marriage harmed society. Furthermore, what was true for daily life was also true for business and politics. In these areas, too, social rules no longer held the sway they once had. What was the author's solution? Goodwill. The author called for the greater unselfishness and collaboration needed if any society were to improve.[120] By focusing on this "moral rearmament," Dutch women in the Indies sought to uplift a population it saw as needing spiritual and social protection. The Association of Housewives, again, assisted women in supporting the Dutch civilizing mission by addressing current social concerns. As

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[118] "Nederlandsche Vrouwenbond ter Verhooging van het Zedelijk Bewustzijn," *De Huisvrouw in Indië*, September 1934, 403-4. Microfilm.
[119] Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, p. 133.
[120] Z. "Geestelijke en Morele Herbewapening," *De Huisvrouw in Indië*, May 1939, 263-4. Microfilm.

housewives reproduced traditional Dutch culture and morals, they supported the goals of moral protection and enlightenment that were integral to the Dutch colonial mission of the first half of the twentieth century.

Conclusion

Life in the tropical colony intimidated many Dutch women. The comforts and norms they enjoyed in their homeland would alter dramatically. Colonial living certainly required adaptation as women learned to cook Dutch recipes with Indonesian products, sew clothing appropriate for the tropical climate, and keep their families clean and healthy through proper sanitation methods. The opportunity, however, promised advantages. Some middle-class women used to providing sole care over their households would have the luxury of servants to cook, clean, and care both their children and gardens. Social activities might be limited, but housewives would enrich themselves by exploring and interacting with new peoples and cultures. Rather than succumbing to isolation and boredom, Dutch women could fulfill their "calling" as housewives and mothers in the Indies. This task entailed bettering their families and communities—both European and indigenous.

Upon the foundation of a civilizing mission articulated in the Ethical Policy, women supported the "uplift" of the Indies even before leaving the metropole. The Colonial School for Girls and Women in The Hague prepared women in the types of housewifery skills that would produce a healthier and more peaceful homelife as well as the prosperity of their families and communities. Over a thousand graduates of this school learned that their "task" in the Indies included proper household management

along with teaching modern home economics to their indigenous sisters. Having arrived in the Indies, Dutch emigrants put their training into practice. Housewife organizations such as the Association of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies provided opportunities for women to engage in community service that aided the poor and sick, protected Dutch views of morality, and educated the population regarding hygiene and cleanliness. Furthermore, this association taught its members effective household management skills that they, in turn, could share with the women in their neighboring *kampungs*. Such educational and social welfare initiatives promoted the Ethical Policy and Dutch women's specific role to assist in the modernization and development of indigenous households. As such, Dutch housewives nurtured the colonial mission of the "ethical empire" through means that reached a very personal, intimate, and immediately useable realm.

CHAPTER 2: MOTHERS OF INDONESIA AND THE 1928 WOMEN'S CONGRESS

"Let us, mothers and daughters of Indonesia, carry out our obligations…, so that other nations and our own nation in the future can say: 'This is a noble nation thanks to the mothers and daughters of Indonesia who knew their responsibilities as mothers and daughters'" (From Siti Soendari's speech given at the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress).[121]

At the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress held in Yogyakarta, Siti Soendari, a delegate from the organization *Putri Indonesia*, advocated that Indonesian women bore heavy responsibilities that affected their families as well as the society around them. Dutch women trained at the Colonial School for Girls and Women had spoken of their own "task" to uplift the indigenous population of the Netherlands Indies; the Association of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies assisted Dutch housewives in fulfilling these obligations. Indonesian women's obligations proved similar to those of Dutch women as they emphasized the importance of motherhood and effective household management as a means of development. For Indonesian women, however, development was equated with "nation building" rather than a more general edification of the indigenous population as the Dutch had proposed. Indonesian women's proper fulfillment of their obligations as wives and mothers determined the strength and vitality of a nation that, although not politically sovereign, had already been imagined by the people residing

[121] From a speech given by Siti Soendari titled "The responsibilities and aspriations of Indonesia's daughters" at the December 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress. Taken from Blackburn, Susan, Ed. *The First Indonesian Women's Congress of 1928* (Victoria: Monash University Press, 2008), 83.

in the Indonesian archipelago. Analysis of the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress and the subsequent work of the Indonesian Women's Alliance (PPI [*Perikatan Perempoean Indonesia*]) after this congress demonstrated the essential ties between women's domestic and social welfare activities and the Indonesian nationalist movement.

An Indonesian nationalist movement and the Indonesian women's movement evolved simultaneously in the early decades of the twentieth century. Scholars of Indonesian history attribute the same cause to the rise of both movements—Western education. During the period of the Ethical Policy, the Netherlands Indies government expanded opportunities for the indigenous population to receive education in European schools and prepare for employment in the colonial civil service, among other sectors. In reality, though, such education led to the development of a discontented indigenous elite. Respected scholar of Indonesian history, George Kahin, asserted that "the most important consequence of Western education" was its development of an indigenous elite that was dissatisfied, frustrated, and unable to be absorbed into colonial society.[122] Despite the increased opportunities for education that had accompanied the Ethical Policy, educated Indonesians faced discrimination. For example, they received lower pay for doing the same work Europeans did. Treated as inferior even if their education and manners were, indeed, superior. Kahin records that civil service positions for those who had passed the clerkship examination started at 25 guilders per month for Indonesians while Europeans and Eurasians passing the same exam started at 60 guilders. Even if their language abilities and manners exceeded those of their European counterparts, colonial

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[122] George McTurnan Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1952), 52.

administrators still viewed them as inferior.[123] Job opportunities, too, remained limited for the educated indigenous population. Other than as teachers in private schools, there were almost no openings within Indonesian society for Indonesians with a Western education.[124]

Historian Anthony Reid agrees with Kahin's assessment of the importance of Western education—and lack of employment opportunities—in creating an indigenous elite who would lead the Indonesian nationalist movement in the 1920s and beyond. Reid concludes that graduates of the new schools and universities were fluent in Dutch, open to European cultures, moved confidently in the modern world and its cities, yet were unsure how to put their knowledge to the benefit of the traditional societies from which they came.[125] It was this new generation, the first substantial group to receive Dutch education, that provided the prominent politicians of the 1940s.[126] Thus, the Ethical Policy's initiatives to spread Western education among the indigenous population produced the very situations of discontent that gave birth to nationalist leaders such as Sukarno and Hatta. Only with the guidance of this indigenous elite was the nationalist movement capable of reaching the masses of Indonesians living under colonial rule. Kahin explains this by stating that the structure of colonial society was such that the peasantry was unable to understand the relationship between social ills and Dutch power without the help of the indigenous elite.[127]

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[123] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 54.
[124] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 35.
[125] Anthony Reid, *The Indonesian National Revolution, 1945-1950* (Hawthorn, Vic: Longman, 1974), 3.
[126] Reid, *Indonesian National Revolution*, 3.
[127] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 41.

Additionally, Ethical Policy changes to government structures generated Indonesian nationalist sentiment. The Volksraad (People's Council), established in May 1918, brought together indigenous representatives from the entire archipelago. In meeting with each other, these representatives realized their common relationship with each other as well as their common problems with the Dutch. Greater feelings of Indonesian unity and nationalism resulted from native leaders discoursing with each other via the Volksraad.[128]

Amidst the rise of an educated indigenous elite, formal nationalist bodies began with the establisment of *Budi Utomo* (Pure Endeavor) in 1908—the year Indonesians consider the birth of national awakening. This student-led group consisted mainly of Javanese priyayi intent on uplifting their class through education and culture, but the movement instigated the creation of more radical political parties intent on real political change.[129] *Budi Utomo* was essentially nonpolitial and called for educational development among the peoples of Java and Madura. It also advicated advancement of agriculture, industry, and commerce among them. Its leadership, however, was dominated by conservative men from Javanese aristocracy.[130] The founding of *Sarekat Islam* (Islamic Union) is conceived by scholars as the beginning of a politically-based Indonesian nationalist movement and the organization that instigated widespread support. *Sarekat Islam*, which openly advocated self-government, was founded in 1912, and membership increased rapidly to 360,000 by 1916. By 1919, membership had reached 2.5

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[128] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 39.
[129] M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c. 1200*. 4th Edition (Stanford, CA: Standford University Press, 2008), 197-199.
[130] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 65.

million, and it was boldly commited to complete independence.[131] Thus, by the early 1920s, formal institutions had organized Indonesian nationalist efforts among the intelligentsia as well as garnering support from the larger populace.

Budi Utomo, *Sarekat Islam*, and other nationalist groups resulted from the discontent of educated indigenous groups. After having graduated from universities, some of these Western-educated intellectuals set up "study clubs" in the major Indonesian cities. Sukarno and his fellow founders all had university degrees and had been involved in the Bandung Study Club under Sukarno's chairmanship. After Sukarno graduated from the Technical Institute in Bandung in 1926, he founded PNI (*Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia* or Indonesian Nationalist Association) on June 4, 1927.[132] This group sought complete independence for the archipelago and marked the beginning of a united, secular nationalist movement that encompassed the entire territory then occupied by the Netherlands.[133] Eventually, PNI became the strongest nationalist organization in Indonesia and was supported by the leaders of *Sarekat Islam*.[134] Formal symbols of Indonesian nationalism arose in October 1928 when the Indonesian national anthem "Indonesian Raya" was sung for the first time and the red and white flag was flown.[135] The nationalist movement had been firmly organized as a means to agitate for Indonesian independence from the Netherlands.

The colonial government quickly considered PNI a threat. Sukarno and other members of PNI were arrested on December 24, 1929 and were charged with crimes that

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[131] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 65-66.
[132] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 90.
[133] Ricklefs, 218.
[134] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 91.
[135] Benedict Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution: Occupation and Resistance, 1944-1946* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), 18.

both disturbed public order and sought the overthrow of the Netherlands Indies Authority.[136] Because the colonial government succeeded in curbing the more radical political activity of the nationalist movement, many observers believed the nationalist movement was isolated to "a few displaced intellectuals."[137] True, it had begun with these displaced intellectuals, but, as Reid argues, few Dutchmen realized how deep and strong the nationalist movement actually was.[138] Sukarno and PNI had targeted problems that the Dutch colonial government had instigated and perpetuated in the Indies. With an awakening to the connection between their own struggles and Dutch rule, average Indonesians began advocating independence.

Indonesians seemed to agree that domestic troubles riddled the territory. They, however, disagreed as to how best to remedy these problems. While other parties believed that improving conditions "at home" should come before independence, Sukarno believed that the way to improve conditions "at home" was through independence. He wanted independence precisely because of domestic troubles (*kemerdekaan karena kesengasaraan*).[139] The nationalist movement was not simply about political sovereignty; rather, national sovereignty was seen as a means to relieve economic exploitation of the region. To Sukarno, PNI could be compared to the labor movement of Europe and America that sought primarly to relieve workers' suffering. Indonesian independence from its colonial occupier would relieve such suffering.

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[136] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 91-92. Sukarno's tract "Indonesia Menggugat" was a response to this.
[137] Reid, *Indonesian National Revolution*, 9.
[138] Reid, *Indonesian National Revolution*, 44.
[139] Sukarno, *Indonesia Menggugat: Pidato Pembelaan Bung Karno dimuka Hakim Kolonial*. Jakarta: S.K. Seno, 1956. 2nd Printing. Original published in 1930, 79. Other parties believed Indonesia should "perbaikilah dulu rumah tangga, nanti kemerdekaan datang sendiri."

Data regarding the economic circumstances of the native population support the reality of economic hardship during the early twentieth century as the nationalist movement gained greater support. Even prior to the economic crisis of the early 1930s, the economic welfare of the native population had been declining. Total real income of the population from 1920-23 was estimated at five to ten percent less than in 1913 despite an approximately ten percent increase in the popuation. In 1924, real per capita income was well under what it had been in 1913.[140] Kahin states that the income declined further between 1926-1932 from 47.6 guilders to 20.3 guilders in Java and Madura. Meanwhile, the percentage of taxes in relation to income increased from 7.64 percent to 10.95 percent. [141] Perhaps the most telling proof of the poor economic welfare of the indigenous population came from a government-sponsored investigation that concluded that the population had "been taxed to the furthest limits of its ability" and feared government plans to increase taxes even more.[142] These taxes supported Ethical Policy initiatives such as building schools and banks, regulating irrigation, and expanding forestry regulations.[143]

While the Dutch may have viewed the rise of an educated indigenous elite and the building of infrastructure a sign of success of the Ethical Policy,[144] prominent nationalist leaders such as Sukarno criticized the colonial government and its Ethical Policy. After

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[140] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 25. Kahin bases this conclusion on the comparison of income figures and per capita imports during the time period as well as wage figures provided by the Netherlands Indies Government. See *Verslag van de Ecoomischen Toestand der Inlandsche Bevolking* [Weltevreden, 1926], I, 240-241, 229.
[141] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 26. Kahin cites L. Götzen, "Volksinkomen en Belasting," *Koloniale Studien* (Oct. 1933), 479.
[142] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, p. 26. Kahin cites a study by W. Huender, *Overzicht van den Economischen Toestand der Inheemsche Bevolking van Java en Madoera* (The Hague, 1921), 246.
[143] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 44.
[144] Ricklefs, 198.

his December 1929 arrest, he appeared before the colonial court in 1930 and gave a defense speech that asserted that the Ethical Policy was merely a guise to make money. While Sukarno's opponents believed that the sugar industry brought in money to the territory, Sukarno argued that sugar, oil, and agriculture did, indeed, bring in opportunities for the indigenous population to work. These were, however, byproducts as the main goal of the the Netherlands was still to make money from the Indies.[145] To Sukarno, capitalism was a threat rather than a boon. Furthermore, none of these policies brought what Sukarno believed to be actual equality or emancipation. He stated:

> "There are no rights that can be given to the Indonesian people to 'balance' the disastrous social life and disastrous prosperity that have been scattered by this modern imperialism; there are no rights that can be given to our people that are favorable and encouraging enough to console the nationalist spirit that complains at seeing the social and economic damage that has been spread by this modern imperialism; *there are no rights that can be given to my people that may become a grip or brace or stronghold for stopping the work of imperialism that upsets our prosperity and social life*!" [146]

The time for reconciliation and accommodation had passed. For Sukarno, only Indonesian independence could remedy the ills of modern imperialism. He believed that more schools, representation in the Volksraad, indigenous employment in the civil service—none of these could balance the economic devastation that had resulted from years of capitalist exploitation in the Indies. Kahin explains this well: "The only important development of capitalism in Indonesia was in the colonial economic sphere,

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[145] Sukarno, *Indonesia Menggugat*, 61-62.

[146] Sukarno, *Indonesia Menggugat*, 67. Italics in original. The original reads: "Tidak ada hak-hak jang orang berikan pada rakjat Indonesia untuk djadi "imbangan" kepada bentjana pergaulan hidup dan bentjana kerezekian jang ditebar-tebarkan oleh imperialisme-modern itu; tidak ada hak-hak jang orang berikan pada rakjat kami jang tjukup nikmat dan menggembirakan untuk didjadikan penglipur hati nasional jang mengeluh melihat kerusakan sosial dan ekonomi jang disebabkan oleh imperialisme-modern itu; *tidak ada hak-hak jang orang berikan pada rakjatku jang boleh didjadikannja sebagai pegangan, sebagai penguat, sebagai sterking untuk memberhentikan kerdja imperialisme jang mengobrak-abrik kerezekian dan pergaulan hidup kami itu*!"

the benefits of which, [Indonesian nationalists] were convinced, completely bypassed them and their families. Capitalism and imperialism were then to be equated, and hostility to imperialism quite naturally entailed hostility to capitalism."[147]

The Indonesian women's movement followed a similar trajectory to that of the Indonesian nationalist movement. Heroine to Dutch and Indonesian alike, Kartini (1879-1904) marked the beginning of what many consider the Indonesian women's movement. Kartini was an upper-class Javanese woman who argued that women deserved equal access to education and that such education would improve their ability to influence society for good. She herself was educated in Dutch, and her letters to Dutch friends have been compiled in the work *Letters of a Javanese Princess*.[148] Kartini died from childbirth while still young, but her efforts to create girls' schools led to the establishment of a private foundation called *Kartini Fonds* (Kartini Fund). This group, established in 1913, worked with the colonial government to provide Dutch-language education for Javanese women.[149] Even after Kartini, the push for greater access to education remained central to the Indonesian women's movement.

Kartini and women like her began agitating for improved conditions for women even before any official women's organization was established in the Netherlands Indies. After the organization of *Budi Utomo* in 1908, *Putri Mardika* (Liberated Young Women)

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[147] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 52.
[148] The original is titled in Dutch *Door Duisternis Tot Licht*. Raden Adjeng Kartini, 1879-1904, Louis, 1863-1923 Couperus, and Agnes Louise Symmers. *Letters of a Javanese Princess*. Project Gutenberg, 2010. <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/34647>.
[149] Ricklefs, 190.

was founded in 1912.[150] Thus began the formal organization of feminist activists in Indonesia. Other Indonesian women's organizations established in the 1910s and 1920s included *Madju Kemulian* (Progress and Honor) and *Hati Suci* (Pure Heart), both of which spoke out in behalf of prostitutes and against the traffic in women.[151] Women joining these groups sought improvement in Indonesian women's condition. Key issues such as education, marriage reform, and prostitution motivated women to find organizational methods of addressing their concerns. Many women turned to religious entities for assistance. Islamic women's organizations arose, including *Serikat Putri Islam* (Islamic Young Women's League) and the *Sarekat Perempuan Islam Indonesia* (Islamic Indonesian Women's League) in 1925. Perhaps the most prominent Islamic women's organization was Aisyah, named after an influential wife of the Prophet Muhammed. This organization set out to spread Islam among women and to build schools.[152] Again, women advocated greater access to education as a means of social development. Religion and nationalism provided the means of agitation for change.

What the women's movements lacked, that the nationalist movement had found with PNI, was unity. Indonesian women's organizations found this unity in 1928. Just as PNI solidfied a nationalist front, the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress united various women's organizations into one body. Like their nationalist counterparts, educated Indonesian women believed that nationalism was the primary means by which

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[150] Tita Marlita and Kristi Poerwandari, "Indonesian Women's Movement in the Period of 1928-1965." In *Indonesian Women in a Changing Society* edited by Kristi Poerwandari (Seoul: Asian Center for Women's Studies, 2005), 45.
[151] Saskia Wieringa, *Sexual Politics in Indonesia* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 66.
[152] Wieringa, *Sexual Politics*, 66. See also Kongres Wanita Indonesia, *Women As the Driving Force in Development: Why and How? : the Case of Non-Governmental Women's Organizations in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kongres Wanita Indonesia, 1985).

their own complaints might be alleviated. In fact, some of the organizers of the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress had participated in nationalist congresses in previous years. Individual women who participated in the Congress, such as Siti Soenarjati, also held familial ties to nationalist party leaders.[153] With the development of women's organizations in previous decades, groups began to organize regionally, and many women, further, sought national unity among themselves.[154] A group of young teachers who had established a branch of *Putri Indonesia* in Yogyakarta in 1926 proposed the idea of a national women's congress. Soejatien [Kartowijono], RA Soekonto, and Nji Hadjar Dewantoro, set up a committee in October 1928 to organization the First Indonesian Women's congress to take place in their hometown.[155]

Dutch scholar Saskia Wieringa has conducted substantial research on the history of women's organizations in Indonesia. She asserts that the prewar women's movement overlapped with the nationalist movement in that women often belonged to several organizations simultaneously.[156] She argues, however, that the 1928 Women's Congress did not take a strong nationalist stand.[157] I hope to clarify the relationships between women's development goals and nationalist sentiment through an analysis of the speeches given at the 1928 congress. This analysis demonstrates that the congress was, in fact, strongly nationalistic when assessed from the position of women as reproducers and nurturers of a nation's people (*bangsa*). Nationalist sentiment and concerted reminders of

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[153] Blackburn, "Introduction," *The First*, 3. Siti Soenarjati's older brother was Sugondo Joypuspito, who chaired the 1928 Pemuda Indonesia congress.
[154] Blackburn, "Introduction," *The First*, 4.
[155] Blackburn, "Introduction," *The First*, 9.
[156] Wieringa, *Sexual Politics*, 69.
[157] Wieringa, *Sexual Politics*, 74.

women's responsibility to care for the people of Indonesia as a nation proved foundational and persistent throughout the congress.

The 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress

The first Indonesian Women's Congress was held December 22-25, 1928. At this meeting, delegates from thirty-one women's organizations, mostly Javanese, gathered in Yogyakarta (Central Java) at the building Joyodipuran at which Sukarno had previously delivered a speech to PNI members.[158] Like the building where they met, these women brought a nationalist agenda to their meeting. No Europeans were invited to participate, and the language used at this conference was Malay, the basis for Indonesian.[159] This was clearly an event strictly for Indonesian women that intended to unite Javanese, Sundanese and other ethnicities into one women's organization under the larger nationalist framework of Indonesia. In reality, however, the event was largely Javanese to the exclusion of other Indonesian cultures. Attendees were mainly young women in their twenties, Javanese, and of the more educated classes.[160] Secular and religious organizations united in the congress to address issues of concern to all Indonesian women. Speakers came from the more prominent women's organizations of the time: *Aisyah*, *Putri Indonesia*, *Wanito Utomo*, and more.[161] Delegates' speeches included the following topics: marriage and divorce, child marriage, the value of women, responsibilities of

[158] Blackburn, "Introduction: The 1928 Women's Congress Revisited," in *The First Indonesian Women's Congress of 1928*, translated and with an introduction by Susan Blackburn, 10. This book is a transcript of speeches given at the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress. This building was owned by architect RT Joyodipuro and is now known as Dalem Jayadipuran. The Balai Pelestarian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Yogyakarta (Office for the Preservation of History and Traditional Values of Yogyakarta) is now housed there.
[159] Blackburn, "Introduction," *The First*, 7.
[160] Blackburn, "Introduction," *The First*, 7-8.
[161] Blackburn, "Introduction," *The First*, 13.

Indonesian women, motherhood, and the status of women in Europe. A closer examination of the proceedings from this conference reveals a body of women who connected women's rights and obligations with the progress of the Indonesian nationalist movement. The issues of primary concern included women's education, marriage reform, and creating a movement that was uniquely Indonesian.

Education was the issue of greatest importance to women at the 1928 First Indonesia Women's Congress. In many ways, all other discussions and proposals relied on expansion of education to more women. This goal certainly aligned with Dutch Ethical Policy reforms, but the women at this conference rarely identified specific governmental measures that could be taken such as increasing the number of schools for indigenous girls. The conference fostered more generalized supported for women's education. Similarly, the speakers, who themselves had received modern education, concerned themselves with the need for mothers to be educated in order to educate their children. Endeavors that may have affected a greater percentage of the population, such proliferating literacy programs in rural areas of the archipelago, remained unaddressed. Nevertheless, women at the conference viewed education as vital to self-improvement and to the future of the Indonesian nation.

Multiple speakers at the conference argued for women and girls' greater access to education. In her speech "The Women's Movement, Marriage and Divorce," RA Soedirman from Poetri Boedi Sedjati suggested that women needed to improve themselves and that public needs demanded they did so.[162] She concluded,

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[162] Speech given by Sdr. RA Soedirman titled "The Women's Movement, Marriage and Divorce," in Blackburn, *The First*, 56.

"Education…is what we need to promote now."[163] She did not identify which forms of education were necessary to promote nor specific measures for promoting education. The necessity of education, however, was evident. Motions mentioned by other speakers included asking the government to open all schools to girls and to increase the number of schools for girls only.[164] This would allow girls whose religious sensibilities prohibited them from going to school with boys to still receive formal education.
"During the colonial era, the struggle to improve the condition of women focused on the provision of education for women, which was felt to be a prerequisite for national liberation."[165]

Women in the congress viewed education as primarily useful in its application to motherhood and child-rearing. Education would allow women to avoid becoming "marriage fodder," or fearful of divorce or separation. Instead, women could maintain a sense of independence within marriage because of their educational background.[166] Another speaker, Siti Soendari, adhered to the idea that it was a mother's responsibility to educate her children.[167] Too often, "education" and "schooling" were equated, but she believed that formal schooling should merely supplement the education given at home. Furthermore, proper education mandated a strong connection between school and the

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[163] Speech given by Sdr. RA Soedirman titled "The Women's Movement, Marriage and Divorce," in Blackburn, *The First*, 58.
[164] Speech given by Sdr. Tien Sastrowirjo titled "What is Women's Path Now and What Will It Be?" in Blackburn, *The First*, 95.
[165] Khofifah Indar Parawansa, "Institution Building: An Effort to Improve Indonesian Women's Role and Status," in *Women in Indonesia: Gender, Equity and Development*, Kathryn Robinson and Sharon Bessell, eds. 68-77. P. 68.
[166] Speech given by Sdr. Siti Soendari titled "The Responsibilities and Aspirations of Indonesia's Daughters," in Blackburn, *The First*, 82.
[167] Speech given by Sdr. Siti Soendari titled "The Responsibilities and Aspirations of Indonesia's Daughters," in Blackburn, *The First*, 78.

home so that teachers and mothers worked together to help children magnify their talents.[168] An educated mother could help produce educated children, and no schools could take the place of mothers in raising children.

If women were to raise their children properly and develop themselves personally, in what areas did they require proper education? In her speech regarding women's path, Tien Sastrowirjo outlined seven skills areas women should develop: home management; infant care; raising and teaching children; knowledge of the nation; knowledge of morals and etiquette; general knowledge; women's needs.[169] [Examine each of these] These areas encompassed women's roles in the home and family and supported greater understanding of larger society. Through developing these skills, Sastrowirjo argued, the nation would become "healthy and prosperous," "noble" "cultivated and clever," and the population would increase.[170] Women needed to learn that which would enoble and enrich the nation (*bangsa*).

Even more specific in her address, President of the Congress and delegate from Wanito Oetomo, RA Soekonto, defined specific measures women should take in their households in order to meet their responsibilities. Reminiscent of a scout oath, her points counseled women to be diligent, efficient, clean, patient, sincere, just, frugal, cautious, careful, polite, firm, and to carry out all their duties skilfully.[171] She discussed each point briefly, paying an extended amount of time discussing cleanliness and specific strategies

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[168] Speech given by Sdr. Siti Soendari titled "The Responsibilities and Aspirations of Indonesia's Daughters," in Blackburn, *The First*, 80.
[169] Speech given by Sdr. Tien Sastrowirjo titled "What is Women's Path Now and What Will It Be?" in Blackburn, *The First*, 87.
[170] Speech given by Sdr. Tien Sastrowirjo titled "What is Women's Path Now and What Will It Be?" in Blackburn, *The First*, 87-88.
[171] Speech given by RA Soekonto titled "Women's Responsibilities in the Home," in Blackburn, *The First*, 97.

for ensuring it including maintaining the yard and drains, covering the toilet hole, cleaning the bathroom, wiping down furniture, washing dishes, and covering food.[172] Clearly influenced by European concern for hygiene and sanitation as elements of modern housewifery, Soekonto encouraged Indonesian women to adopt such practices that would maintain a healthy household. One scholar of Indonesian women has suggested that during this era, "the ideal of the 'good wife and mother' was firmly entrenched in Indonesia; a good woman should be able to manage her family and home well. Thus any effort to improve the condition of women necessariy involved improving their capacity to manage their responsibilities in the domestic domain."[173] Development and modernization centered on women's effective household management. Whether Dutch or Indonesian, one's home economics skills pinpointed not only the advancement of women but also the health of the nation and its people.

It was clear in this speeches of the 1928 Congress that delegates concerned themselves mainly with education of the middle and upper classes, from which they came. And although the women aligned themselves with Indonesian nationalism, they were not, as Elizabeth Martyn notes, "anti-colonial warriors." Rather, leaders of the Indonesian women's movement during this time were part and parcel of the new educated class of women, who had begun to analyze societies in light of the treatment of women. Membership in these new women's organizations, likewise, came from among the elite rather than the lower classes.[174] Their concerns were those of the intelligentsia that had

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[172] Speech given by RA Soekonto titled "Women's Responsibilities in the Home," in Blackburn, *The First*, 98.
[173] Khofifah Indar Parawansa, "Institution Building," 69.
[174] Elizabeth Martyn, *The Women's Movement in Post-Colonial Indonesia: Gender and Nation in a New Democracy* (London: Routledge, 2005), 31, 38.

developed in the recent decades of colonial rule and the expansion of Western education in the East Indies. The content of the congress participants' speeches demonstrated the class divide. Only one speech specifically addressed the needs of poorer classes in Indonesia and women's role in educating these groups. A delegate from the Girls' Committee of *Jong Java* reminded audience members of the need for teachers, polyclinics, and overall assistance to women living in the *kampungs* and the villages. She believed that the nation was "still backward."[175] Women had to be released from the burdens of overwork.[176] Rural women, in particular, would have been overworked due to agricultural tasks in addition to household responsibilities. Congress participants recognized that the key factor in improving the lot of poor women was through education. The speaker from *Jong Java* suggested additional social work initiatives including establishing a clothing trust for poor school children, providing financial assistance for babies and mothers in the villages, replacing child labor with compulsory schooling, creating a bureau to help women looking for work, educating village girls in matters of hygiene, and establishing trade schools for girls.[177] Again, education was necessary for the nation to progess. Only when mothers had been properly educated on how to raise children and manage the home could poverty and sickness be ameliorated and modern development occur. And as the upper and middle classes received such education, they could bring training and awareness to the lower classes in Indonesia.

Some of the debates at the congress stemmed from traditional practices in the villages of rural Indonesia that many of the Western-educated Indonesian women had

[175] "The Speech of Siti Marjam," in Blackburn, *The First*, 115.
[176] "The Speech of Siti Marjam," in Blackburn, *The First*, 116.
[177] "The Speech of Siti Marjam," in Blackburn, *The First*, 118.

come to see as barbaric. Of primary concern to these women was the institution of child marriage. There was little debate among conference attendees regarding this topic as all agreed to fight against the practice of child marriage. Moegaroemah, a delegate from from Putri Indonesia, asserted that the institution "threatens our welfare and security."[178] Girls of 11 or 12 years of age were taken out of school in order to be married. Given those circumstances, she asked, how could a girl who herself had not gained much knowledge take on the responsibilities of running a household?[179] She could not. She proposed, "Give girls a complete education before they undertake their life's journey, because they are the proper educators of children."[180] If the education of children relied on the education of their mothers, then mothers needed sufficient time to receive proper knowledge, instruction, and training before taking on the responsibility of educating their children.

Participants worried about the arranged or forced nature of child marriage. Putri Indonesia's Moegaroemah believed that a "legitimate marriage" must be one in which both parties agree and neither is forced. Too frequently, she said, young brides agreed to marriage merely out of fear of their parents.[181] Siti Soendari agreed, believing that a marriage must be based on affection and love.[182] Furthermore, she concluded that polygamy, child marriage, forced marriage, and divorce were all difficult practices to justify because of the many harmful effects they had on the women involved. She did not, however, believe that women should be blamed for these problems, but that the collapse

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[178] Speech given by Sdr. Moegaroemah titled "Child Marriage," in Blackburn, *The First*, 69.
[179] Speech given by Sdr. Moegaroemah titled "Child Marriage," in Blackburn, *The First*, 69-70.
[180] Speech given by Sdr. Moegaroemah titled "Child Marriage," in Blackburn, *The First*, 70.
[181] Speech given by Sdr. Moegaroemah titled "Child Marriage," in Blackburn, *The First*, 70-71.
[182] Speech given by Sdr. Siti Soendari titled "The Responsibilities and Aspirations of Indonesia's Daughters," in Blackburn, *The First*, 77.

of marriage and family was repeatedly caused by men.[183] The young brides within underage marriages remained victims of others' choices. Therefore, child marriage should be eliminated in order to secure women's well-being.

Tien Sastrowirjo, whose organizational affiliation was not recorded, concurred in speaking out again child marriage and identifying principles that would make for more successful marriage. She noted that underage marriage harmed young brides physically as childbirth at such young ages often led to disease and death in both mothers and children. Additionally, young brides and grooms did not know how to manage a household and would likewise fall victim to poverty. Such effects would lead to the nation's own ruination.[184] Thus, child marriage led to lack of education. Lack of education led to poverty, and poverty destroyed the nation.

Moegaroemah of Putri Indonesia believed that the attendees of the 1928 Congress had the obligation to teach the evils of child marriage to those of the lower classes who still practiced this tradition. She proposed that those who already understood the evil of child marriage had a responsibility "to explain this evil as clearly as possible." [185] She claimed, "We who understand should walk ahead and light up the dark paths in order to improve and develop our nation."[186] Just as Dutch women advocated their responsibility to teach and provide a positive example for the Indonesian people, educated Indonesian women took on a similar responsibility to teach the lower classes about proper behavior and rights. As Dutch women "uplifted" the upper-class Javanese, these women would

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[183] Speech given by Sdr. Siti Soendari titled "The Responsibilities and Aspirations of Indonesia's Daughters," in Blackburn, *The First*, 78.
[184] Speech given by Sdr. Tien Sastrowirjo titled "What is Women's Path Now and What Will It Be?" in Blackburn, *The First*, 90.
[185] Speech given by Sdr. Moegaroemah titled "Child Marriage," in Blackburn, *The First*, 72.
[186] Speech given by Sdr. Moegaroemah titled "Child Marriage," in Blackburn, *The First*, 72.

then enlighten and train the lower classes. Not only did Dutch women have a civilizing mission to fulfill, but so, too, did their educated Indonesian sisters.

Polygamy was a highly contested topic in the Indonesian women's movement at the time, but speakers rarely mentioned it in the congress because of attendees' mixed attitudes. The participants came from diverse women's groups that included religious organizations such as the Islamic Aisyah or the Catholic Wanito Katholiek. Other groups such as Jong Java and Wanito Utomo were strictly non-religious. Being very aware of the diversity among the conference attendees, conference organizations and speakers wisely promoted unity rather than emphasizing issues and characteristics that would divide women. Consequently, in a context in which participants agreed to not discuss religion, talk of polygamy could only instigate a controversial religious debate. Even among Muslim women themselves, questions regarding the relevance and appropriateness of polygamy led to conflict. An exception to this silence came from Sastrowirjo, who called polygamy "a very bad thing" as it led to women's unhappiness and content among posterity.[187] Other than this and a few brief mentions of polygamy, it was not discussed by the women at the conference despite its significance in Indonesian women's lives.

The institution of marriage, however, determined the health and future of Indonesia. Consequently, congress participants advocated measures that would improve the health of marriage and, thus, the health of the nation. Sastrowirjo summed up the national importance of marriage reform: "Because the issue of marriage is so important for us all due to its great influence on us, our nation and our homeland, it must receive the

[187] Speech given by Sdr. Tien Sastrowirjo titled "What is Women's Path Now and What Will It Be?" in Blackburn, *The First*, 90.

attention of all modern people and modern society in general."[188] To Sastrowirjo, national development and social well-being centered on marriage. In order to become a "modern people" and a "modern society," Indonesians required marriage laws that included revered and respected women's positions as wives and mothers. Delegates of the various women's organizations who met together in Yogyakarta promoted marriages full of love and cooperation in which husbands and wives held equal status despite their differing responsibilities. The difference in men's and women's roles in the family was clear; these differences, however, should not diminish equality and harmony in marital relationships.

Because the Indonesian nationalist and the indigenous women's movements aligned in history and purpose, it was important to the Indonesian women's organizations that met together in 1928 that reform and women's status remained uniquely Indonesian rather than simply imitating the women's movements within Europe or other countries. These other movements, however, provided motivation and inspiration for Indonesian women, and they felt the need to "catch up" with their sisters worldwide. The founders of the 1928 Congress claimed that Indonesian women had been "left behind" compared to women of other countries.[189] Notions of equality in political representation and inheritance had come to Europe but not yet to Indonesia. Speakers continually refered this idea that other nations had somehow progressed beyond Indonesia, mentioning places such as Japan, China, Turkey, and Europe stating, "It is not acceptable for us to be left behind by the women of those countries." China, for instance, had ended its practice of footbinding. Japanese women provided an example of how to teach children love for

[188] Speech given by Sdr. Tien Sastrowirjo titled "What is Women's Path Now and What Will It Be?" in Blackburn, *The First*, 91.
[189] Speech given by RA Soekonto titled "The Opening of the Indonesian Women's Congress," in Blackburn, *The First*, 35.

one's homeland. Marriage regulations in Afghanistan aided women's liberation.[190] Indonesian women saw the freedoms available to women in other countries and desired these opportunities for themselves. Exactly which freedoms to fight for and which countries to follow, however, were not so self-explanatory.

For the most part, congress speakers advocated an Indonesian women's movement that did not mimic that of the West. In her speech regarding the status of women, Siti Moendijah from the Islamic organization Aisyah decried Western customs such as women's "liberated clothing" and divorce as potentially detrimental to Indonesian women. It was the influence of the wider world that led to the nation's decline. She stated, "Our nation already has its own refined traditions and behavior, which probably are unmatched by Westerners and other people." Furthermore, Indonesian women needed to search out elements from Europe's progress and evaluate those that were appropriate or inappropriate.[191] Similarly, according to Tien Sastrowirjo, freedoms given to women in Europe were "quite improper." She lamented the women's suffrage movement in England that had witnessed women behaving in such ways that they were put in jail. A better example was Japan, where women taught their children to love their homeland.[192] Sastrowirjo's assessment of other countries indicated the importance she found in women maintaining modesty and propriety while nurturing national allegiance in their children. Women could magnify their responsibilities as women precisely through respecting their role as reproducers of both religious and national culture. Yet another

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[190] Speech given by Sdr. Tien Sastrowirjo titled "What is Women's Path Now and What Will It Be?" in Blackburn, *The First*, 94.
[191] Speech given by Njonja Siti Moendjiah titled "The Status of Women," in Blackburn, *The First*, 65.
[192] Speech given by Sdr. Tien Sastrowirjo titled "What is Women's Path Now and What Will It Be?" in Blackburn, *The First*, 85.

speaker, SZ Goenawan, stated clearly that imitating the West should not be Indonesian women's goal. "Some people say that Indonesia will be developed when we become like Western women, yet there are many features that we cannot adopt."[193] Common consensus among congress participanted assumed that Indonesia was a nation with unique circumstances and culture in which solutions in the West frequently did not apply. In contrast, countries in the East such as China and Japan presented more appropriate examples that Indonesian women should emulate.

Indonesian women needed to address each country and each freedom in order to properly evaluate and apply strategies and goals for their own women's movement. This issue was of such interest to women at the congress that Mrs. Ali Sastroamidjojo[194] devoted her entire speech to the discussion of European women's status. She believed that those women had fewer rights than Indonesian when it came to property laws. In other ways, however, freedom in Europe was "excessive." Thus, she concluded that Eastern women should not imitate the freedom of Western women.[195] For example, chastity had "disappeared, or if it remains at at all, there is very little of it" in Paris and London.[196] She viewed the women's movement in England as very advanced, while noting that France's was the weakest because of French women's vanity and love of beautiful clothes. French women, however, could be admired as skillful household managers. Likewise, Dutch women maintained clean and polished homes. (Although they

[193] Speech given by Mrs. SZ Goenawan titled "One Responsibility of Women," in Blackburn, *The First*, 105.
[194] An organizational affiliation was not recorded for this speaker, but she was the wife of the Ali Sastroamidjojo who had been active in nationalist organizations such as *Jong Java*, PNI, and later became Prime Minister of Indonesia under Sukarno.
[195] Speech given by Mrs. Ali Sastroamidjojo titled "The Status of Women in Europe," in Blackburn, *The First*, 110.
[196] Speech given by Mrs. Ali Sastroamidjojo titled "The Status of Women in Europe," in Blackburn, *The First*, 110.

did not keep their bodies so clean).[197] Sastroamidjojo advocated the same elements of the modern household that Dutch women promoted as part of their colonial mission to educate the indigenous population. In these examples, Sastroamidjojo identified both positive and negative characteristics of women in Europe to allow Indonesian women to evaluate what applied to them. Although she largely generalized Eastern and Western customs, she promoted careful evaluation of what could and could not benefit the women of Indonesia.

She concluded her speech by asserting that the progress of Western women's status and position provided an example for Indonesian women but that their example must be adjusted to the Indonesian situation and character. They could not simply imitate that which had been done in the West, where institutions such as marriage were also far from ideal. Finally, she reminded congress attendees that such progress (*kemajuan*) and freedom (*kemerdekaan*) as had been achieved by Western women came through their own hard work. In summary, Indonesian women needed to achieve the progress that Western women had made, but they needed to remember their own cultures and adjust progress to their particular life circumstances.[198] Indonesian women wanted rights and privileges so often found in the West, but they wanted to remain Indonesian. If they were willing to work as Western women had for progress, they would be able to achieve it as well.

While much of the Congress centered on women's rights, perhaps an equal portion focused on women's desires to fulfill certain obligations. Siti Soendari of Putri

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[197] Speech given by Mrs. Ali Sastroamidjojo titled "The Status of Women in Europe," in Blackburn, *The First*, 111-12.
[198] Speech given by Mrs. Ali Sastroamidjojo titled "The Status of Women in Europe," in Blackburn, *The First*, 112.

Indonesia stated, "With the word equality we women promise with all our ability to work as hard as possible so that we fulfill our obligations in a world in which we deserve to take part."[199] While many women's movements around the world focused solely on how to win rights, such as that of suffrage, the participants at the 1928 Congress placed greater emphasis on women's obligations to the nation and people of Indonesia. Such responsibilities included managing the household, educating children and the reaching into their communities and society outside home.[200] It was the mothers and daughters of the nation, as Soendari referred to Indonesian women, who must fulfill such duties.

Indonesian women did not intend to negate or even downplay the importance of their roles as wives and mothers. The Congress President, R.A. Soekonto set the tone from the beginning of the congress by stating, "Of course I don't mean to say that Indonesian women should keep out of the kitchen. However, apart from being number one in the kitchen, we must also concern ourselves with the issus that men are concerned with….This does not mean that women should become men. Women should remain women but their status should be elevated to be the same as that of men."[201] Similarly, in her speech regarding the status of women, Siti Moendijah from the Islamic organization Aisyah asserted that women had their own responsibilities that could never be carried out by men including pregnancy, childbirth, breastfeeding and caring for children.[202] Indonesian women did not seek to become that same as men in nature, character, or

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[199] Speech given by Sdr. Siti Soendari titled "The Responsibilities and Aspirations of Indonesia's Daughters," in Blackburn, *The First*, 76.
[200] Speech given by Sdr. Siti Soendari titled "The Responsibilities and Aspirations of Indonesia's Daughters," in Blackburn, *The First*, 76.
[201] Speech given by RA Soekonto titled "The Opening of the Indonesian Women's Congress," in Blackburn, *The First*, 36.
[202] Speech given by Njonja Siti Moendjiah titled "The Status of Women," in Blackburn, *The First*, 66.

responsibilities. Their feminist sensibilities centered on a feminism founded on difference. In sum, as Djami from Darmo Laksmi stated, women did not have the same nature, fate, or lives as men; so, women's obligations were also different.[203] These participants proposed and demonstrated that women's unique responsibilities, in fact, empowered them to nurture the people of their homeland in ways that men were unable.

The burden these women faced lay not in a desire to change the nature of their work but, rather, in confronting a widespread devaluation of "women's work." Tien Sastrowirjo spoke against conservatives (*kaum reactie*) who "do not value our work" and, thus, believed that women had no need for education.[204] Those who found little importance in household management would see no need to improve its efficiency or its managers—the women. The view women at the congress took was that women's work was of such great importance that proper education was imperative. Like Dutch women, they considered education as the key to modernizing one's household. Another speaker, "SZ" Goenawan from *Rukun Wanodijo*, clarified further: "We women have our own resonsibilities that are important and by no means trivial to the history of the world and humanity."[205] To them, a women's duties in the home dictated the welfare of society at large. Another delegate went so far as to conclude that "the people who manage the Indonesian nation" are the twenty-five million women who made up half of Indonesia.[206] What women did mattered to them, to their families, and to their nation. Effective

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[203] Speech given by Djami titled "Mothers," in Blackburn, *The First*, 100.
[204] Speech given by Sdr. Tien Sastrowirjo titled "What is Women's Path Now and What Will It Be?" in Blackburn, *The First*, 88.
[205] Speech given by Mrs. SZ Goenawan titled "One Responsibility of Women," in Blackburn, *The First*, 103.
[206] Speech given by an unnamed delegate titled "Then the Delegate of Perserikatan Wanito Moeljo in Yogyakarta Made a Speech as Follows," in Blackburn, *The First*, 120.

household management led to effective national management. These Indonesian women considered their obligation to manage their homes as a nationalist project whose importance superseded their quest for rights.

It was through their activities as mothers that Indonesian women would help build the nation. Perhaps, as Maryn asserts, they framed their interests in the context of motherhood to make them appear less threatening.[207] As Moegaroemah, a delegate from Poetri Indonesia concluded, "A country cannot develop if its inhabitants do not have a good education and leadership."[208] She did not specify the type of education she believed women needed to receive, but she argued that educating women would lead to the betterment of the nation. Siti Soendari's speech "The Responsibilities and Aspirations of Indonesia's Daughters" further established the role of women in unifying the people of Indonesia. In her speech, she specifically called her audience "Mothers of Indonesia," "Noble Indonesian girls, beloved mothers," and "Daughters and wives of Indonesia," thus signifying the central and honorable role of women in the development of Indonesia. To her, the chief intention of the 1928 Congress was to discuss women's responsibilities that would "allow the greatness of Indonesia to emerge in the world."[209] She, as with the other speakers, did not declare a call for revolution and the political sovereignty of Indonesia from the Netherlands. What they did propose, however, was women's responsibility to unify and reproduce Indonesian culture, nurturing the people of Indonesia and their development. Acting properly as wives and mothers would, in turn, result in the flourishing of Indonesian society. Likewise, Siti Soendari believed that women's

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[207] Martyn, 34.
[208] Speech given by Sdr. Moegaroemah titled "Child Marriage," in Blackburn, *The First*, 70.
[209] Speech given by Sdr. Siti Soendari titled "The Responsibilities and Aspirations of Indonesia's Daughters," in Blackburn, *The First*, 74.

relationship with the nation of Indonesia need not be less than that of men. Moreover, "It is more than proper if the love of we women is far deeper, wider and more noble than the sentiments of men." She believed that women's love for their homeland of Indonesia was deeper precisely because their love "is above all within the household for our families and husbands."[210] Soendari's line of reasoning affirmed that women's role as nurturers of their families enabled them to feel greater love than men did for the nation as well. In her speech at the 1928 Congress, Tien Sastrowirjo agreed. She proclaimed, "We ask for freedom because we wish to revere our nation. If we are not given this flexibility, how then is our nation to progress?"[211] She believed that both men and women should love their nation and love their homeland, but it seems that women had an especial capacity and responsibility to foster national allegiance and the social well-being.

To Soendari, lack of education, and therefore loss of independence, threatened the progress of the nation more than women's supposed incapacity for nationalist sentiment. Domestic problems such as loss of independence and loss of love in a marriage had a "dangerous impact on the education of our children who will become the nation of the future."[212] The women must receive freedom and opportunity in order to provide proper training of their children, whose welfare was vital to the future of Indonesia. In conclusion, she reiterated her previous claims clearly: women's noblest obligation was

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[210] Speech given by Sdr. Siti Soendari titled "The Responsibilities and Aspirations of Indonesia's Daughters," in Blackburn, *The First*, 77.
[211] Speech given by Sdr. Tien Sastrowirjo titled "What is Women's Path Now and What Will It Be?" in Blackburn, *The First*, 89.
[212] Speech given by Sdr. Siti Soendari titled "The Responsibilities and Aspirations of Indonesia's Daughters," in Blackburn, *The First*, 82.

that of motherhood.[213] Motherhood could not be separated from the nation. Thus women's work encompassed household and national domains. And, admittedly, the task asked of women was not easy. Soendari believed that women must work hard because there was much work to be done in Indonesia.[214] She did not clarify the nature of this work, but her speech intended to inspire and motivate congress participants to comprehend the great burden placed upon them in that the welfare of the nation depended on women's diligence.

To accomplish the work necessary to assist the people of Indonesia, the women required greater unity among themselves. In fact, unity was central to the purpose of the 1928 Indonesian Women's Congress. Just as the nationalist movement unified under Sukarno, the women's movement conglomerated in the pursuit of common goals. At the 1928 congress, Siti Soendari urged women to work together and declared, "Happiness and prosperity will only emerge if all the islands and peoples of Indonesia feel that they are one, and become united, and if that unity is regulated properly."[215] Unity of the women's associations was to mimic the unity of the archipelago's many islands. And as events would later prove, only through such unity would the Indonesian nation actually become and maintain an independent republic. The unification of various Indonesian women's organizations at the 1928 Women's Congress established a precedent for later women's organizations whose key focus remained unity among the people of Indonesia—as led by its women.

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[213] Speech given by Sdr. Siti Soendari titled "The Responsibilities and Aspirations of Indonesia's Daughters," in Blackburn, *The First*, 82.
[214] Speech given by Sdr. Siti Soendari titled "The Responsibilities and Aspirations of Indonesia's Daughters," in Blackburn, *The First*, 81.
[215] Speech given by Sdr. Siti Soendari titled "The Responsibilities and Aspirations of Indonesia's Daughters," in Blackburn, *The First*, 74.

The Indonesian Women's Alliance (PPI)

Ultimately, the primary goal and most evident result of the conference came in the unification of women's organzations under an umbrella alliance called *Perikatan Perempuan Indonesia*, or PPI (Indonesian Women's Alliance). At the congress's closing session, Siti Hajinah reminded attendees that "humans cannot survive on their own." Humankind demanded solidarity, and uniting the various women's organizations was, she believed, a path to peae, happiness, and prosperity for all. Yes, there were differences between humans, but these differences "can be accommodated," she said, as people gained knowledge about each other, mixed with each other, and communicated with each other. The intent of the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress had been to create unity as women discussed together their needs and resonsibilities with the hope that Indonesia would prosper.[216] Thus, the Indonesian Women's Alliance (PPI) officially unified Indonesia's women to the greatest extent possible at the time. PPI remained in existence and continued to meet in annual meetings until the outbreak of World War II in Indonesia. Likewise, the Indonesian Women's Alliance provided the historical example for and foundation of later alliances of women's organizations including KOWANI (Indonesian Women's Congress).

Besides discussing topics of interest in the women's movement, the Indonesian Women's Alliance settled on a series of resolutions to address the needs of women and the nation both practically and immediately. These resolutions included the creation of PPI. In turn, PPI would establish a body to provide scholarships to girls who could not otherwise afford an education. Because education for girls had been of such great concern

[216] Speech given by Siti Hajinah titled "The Unity of Humanity," in Blackburn, *The First*, 123-125.

to the participants of the congress, it seemed a natural duty of PPI to ensure such education. Another resolution intended to assist girls in their personal training was that PPI set up and support girl-guide groups (similar to Girl Scouts). The alliance also resolved to prevent child marriage through spreading propaganda and requesting help from civil servants in educating the people about the negative aspects of the practice. The women also hoped to reform marriage law by sending a motion to religious councils asking them to facilitate written pre-marital contracts (*taklek*). Finally, PPI also decided to request continued financial support from the government to benefit widows and orphans and to increase the number of schools for girls.[217] These clear and practical resolutions demonstrated proved that Indonesian women, united in their efforts, could not only assess the needs of women and the nation but also establish solutions to address these needs. And only through addressing women's needs, could the nation of Indonesia progress. The women's organizations that attended this conference and formed PPI exemplified associations that embraced their responsibilities as women and mothers as a means to support the Indonesian nationalist movement.

Dutch women, likewise, recognized the importance of the Indonesian women's movement as it developed. In *Vrouwen in Indië*, Swaan-Koopman discussed how women's associations improved social conditions. First, she provided readers with a brief history of the Indonesian women's movement, highlighting the work of Kartini and the establishment of the Indonesian Women's Alliance at the 1928 Indonesian Women's Congress. Based on this history, she asserted that modern Indonesian women recognized

[217] "Brief Report of the Indonesian Women's Congress, Held in Yogyakarta, 22-25 December 1928, at Joyodipuran," in Blackburn, *The First*, 42-44.

their duty towards their neighbors and their associates.[218] She described the practices of human trafficking that had turned native girls into prostitutes (often for the Europeans) as well as the female slaves in the batik industry of Central Java.[219] Certainly, these practices prevented both the uplift of the indigenous population and the development of the Indonesian nation. Consequently, both Dutch and Indonesian women's organizations throughout the archipelago had been established not only to care for one's own family and community but also to improve the overall conditions of women in Indonesia. For instance, women's organizations provided courses in household management, established savings banks and an illness fund, and lended books to eager readers.[220] Additionally, these women's organizations did work in the *kampungs*, helping mothers better care for their children and arranging for medical care. Swaan-Koopman concluded that native women's organizations flourished as these women had been awakened to not only improve their own position and circumstances but also to improve the status of women who remained underdeveloped (*onontwikkeld*).[221] Dutch women anticipated that native women's organizations, after experiencing their own enlightenment, would continue the work necessary to uplift and educate the remainder of the population. Her observations reaffirm that women's organizations facilitated the development of society in Indonesia. Both Dutch housewives and Indonesia's daughters and mothers sought to improve the the well-being of the indigenous population, and their organizational initiatives provided support and opportunities for doing so.

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[218] Ir c. Swaan-Koopman, *Vrouwen in Indië* (Amsterdam: H.J Paris, 1932), 118-19.
[219] Swaan-Koopman, 119-120.
[220] Swaan-Koopman, 121.
[221] Swaan-Koopman, 124.

Like other women's organizations at the time, PPI published a periodical to inform and unite its members. The newspaper, titled *Isteri* (wife),[222] shared congress proceedings with its readers and updated them on the progress of the resolutions from the 1928 and subsequent conferences. The chosen title of the newspaper demonstrated PPI's awareness of and commitment to women's roles within the household. Linguistically, *Isteri* served to unite Indonesian women through its use of Malay rather than Javanese or Sundanese as the language of publication. At the time, however, Malay was not the first language of the vast majority of Indonesians. They, too, were only beginning to fluently converse in the language that resulted in Bahasa Indonesia. Recognizing the inability of many women to read and speak Malay, the newspaper was published in all three languages (Malay, Javanese, and Sundanese).[223] The target audience for this monthly newspaper, too, was "All women and men who care for the education of women."[224] *Isteri* provided the means to unify not just the women of PPI but all those interested in Indonesian women's welfare.

Gradually, the content and design of *Isteri* shifted to become more appealing to a larger audience while maintaining the newspaper's focus on PPI. For example, the content of the articles in the 1929 and 1930 issues of *Isteri* indicated women's continued interest in the resolutions of the 1928 Congress while including sections and topics that would appeal to a larger female audience. Scholars Barbara Hatley and Susan Blackburn have observed that Indonesian women's magazines from the time period focused

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[222] Indonesian terms such as *isteri/istri* (wife) and *ibu* (mother) are frequently used for all women no matter the marital status or family situation.
[223] "Ma'loemat Dari Redactie," *Isteri*, May 1929, 1. The languages chosen for publication reconfirmed the centrality of Java within PPI despite its intent to unite women from the entire archipelago.
[224] The title of the May 1929 issue is "*Isteri: Soerat chabar boelanan dalam bahasa Malajoe oentok sekalian Isteri-isteri dan Toean-toean jang memperhatikan Pengetahoean Isteri.*

primarily on the improvement of Indonesian women; nevertheless, they were products of the colonial period and "reflected the spread of Western education and consumer goods" in addition to rising Indonesian nationalism.[225] *Isteri* fit within the scope of such periodicals that combined Western sensibilities with deep concern for the Indonesian nation. Agitating for progess, above all else, remained the intent of *Isteri*. By the second issue, the cover of the newspaper appeared more feminine by including flowers and a more elegant font in the title.[226] Yet the stated target audience of the newspaper was women as well as men. Consequently, it included articles about encouraging men to help in the movement for women's emancipation. Additionally, *Isteri* targeted a diverse audience by including articles about Christianity and male-female relations according to different religions. Other elements of the newspaper demonstrated its versatility: ads for available courses, help wanted, items for sale, and more. The intent of *Isteri* was clearly to support PPI but to also make its goals and activities available to the common female—and male—Indonesian populace.

PPI used *Isteri* to advocate proper childcare and household management in addition to its support of the resolutions regarding women's education and other concerns. PPI promoted progress that could be seen through the modernization of the household. For example, in its first issue, *Isteri* included an article by R.A. Soekonto, who had chaired the 1928 Women's Congress, about caring for a newborn.[227] Additionally, the newspaper included articles on cooking and washing clothing. PPI hoped to educate

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[225] Barbara Hatley and Susan Blackburn, "Representations of Women's Roles in Household and Society in Indonesian Women's Writing of the 1930s," in *Women and Households in Indonesia*, Juliette Koning, Marleen Nolten, Janet Rodenburg, and Ratna Saptari, eds. 45-67. p. 49.
[226] *Isteri*, June 1929.
[227] "Hal Pemiliharaan Anak-Anak" *Isteri*, May 1929, 2.

women regarding proper techniques for household cleanliness and health, just as Dutch housewives were doing in their own organizations at the time. PPI's intent to modernize the household through educating readers about cleanliness was seen in a May 1930 article of *Isteri* titled "*Moesoeh Kita*," or "Our Enemy."[228] This article asked then answered the question, "Do we have an enemy," as if the answer would refer to a specific nation or group of people. The author, one "S.M.P.," instead answered that the enemy was not something human but is a small creature: bacteria. This article called for greater cleanliness and supported the Dutch adage that "*Gezondheid is de grootste schat*" (Cleanliness is the greatest treasure). The author believed that Indonesian women, too, wanted a people that was both healthy and strong in body. She concluded that proper hygiene and sanitation would fight bacteria, and therefore, lead to a prosperous nation. Just as Dutch housewives viewed lessons on cleanliness as a primary means to uplift the indigenous population, so too did the Indonesian women of PPI feel a responsibility to edify their own nation through teaching readers about cleanliness.

The resolutions PPI had established in 1928 presented goals for a more prosperous future and strategies for achieving such goals. *Isteri* promoted a picture of the future that had been established in 1928 as it discussed changes that would bring about greater well-being for Indonesians. Hatley and Blackburn recognized the role of Indonesian women's magazines in the 1930s for supporting progress. They observed that Indonesian women's magazines of the time "presented a construct of women in the household which did not so much mirror reality as project a desirable model for an age of

[228] "Moesoeh Kita," *Isteri*, May 1930, 3.

kemadjoean [progress]."[229] PPI looked towards the future and ways to secure it for their families and the people of Indonesia. As had been proposed in the 1928 Congress, women's education provided the opportunity for their own independence as well as for the progress of the nation. PPI, along with Dutch and Indonesian women alike, revered Kartini. An article in the first issue of *Isteri* memorialized her as one who had established a vision of the nation's advancement through education. As such, PPI placed Kartini's work as vital within the nationalist and women's movements as *Isteri*'s editors urged readers: "Come my brothers and sisters, let us work together to continue the work of R.A. Kartini which is: struggling for the nation of women, struggling for the nation of Indonesia, struggling for our homeland, the land of Indonesia."[230] Kartini's work with women's education enobled her for Indonesian women, who utilized her persona as a hero to the Indonesian nationalist movement.

PPI was aware that women in the Netherlands Indies had been struggling for expanded education ever since (and even before) Kartini. A July 1929 issue of *Isteri* included a speech given by Siti Soendari Darmobroto (*Putri Indonesia*) at the Colonial Education Congress in The Hague in 1916. In this speech, the author argued that women's first priority was to teach her children—an argument she continued to make at the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress. She believed that because mothers are the primary teachers of children, women themselves must be educated. Likewise, because Indonesian men were increasingly more educated, they wanted wives who were also educated. Soendari believed that men would look for women of other countries if the

[229] Hatley and Blackburn, "Representations," p. 54.
[230] "Peringatan R.A. Kartini," *Isteri*, May 1929, 3.

local women were not educated. So, she called for the same educational opportunities for women that men had. The content to be taught aligned with PPI's affirmation of women's important role as a household manager as well as an educated member of society. She proposed that women needed to be taught to sew, cook, do batik, etc. in addition to studying math, reading, and writing. Additionally, she concluded they should be taught in Javanese and Malay because these were the coloquial languages. They should also learn Dutch, but, according to Soendari, Arabic and Chinese "are not necessary for Javanese women to study." The subjects she wanted women to learn were practical both in the home and in Indonesian society. As far as religion went, Soendari suggested that the study of Islam be an option rather than a requirement.[231] By including this 1916 speech in a 1929 issue of *Isteri*, PPI reminded readers that the struggle for adequate education for girls and women had taken place for decades. Women such as Kartini and Soendari appealed to the colonial Dutch government for assistance as well as propagating educational initiatives among Indonesian women.

While PPI's nationalist sentiments had been apparent since the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress, the alliance became more overtly supportive of Indonesian independence in 1930. The cover of the March 1930 issue illustrated this shift by displaying the word"*Isteri*" in the mouth and claw of an eagle flying over volcanic mountains and says "Purity is our torch. Independence is our direction."[232] The eagle (*garuda*) later became the national emblem of Indonesia. The volcanic mountains clearly represented Indonesia's terrain. In no uncertain terms, this cover picture and its tagline

[231] *Isteri*, July 1929.
[232] *Isteri*, March 1930, 1. The original Indonesian reads, "Kesoetjian penerang kita. Kemerdekaan arah kita."

advocated Indonesian independence. The tagline suggests, further, that women's purity as the bearers of Indonesian culture would lead to independence. Also in this issue, articles and advertisements demonstrated PPI's nationalist support. For instance, it included an ad for "*Persatuan Indonesia*," (Indonesian Unity) a newspaper for PNI. PPI proclaimed its political affiliations while having continuously encouraged Indonesian women to remember their obligations to the development of the nation.

Once the Indonesian Women's Alliance was formed, Indonesian women were in a better position to unite and coordinate with the women's movements of their neighbors. PPI fit within the larger framework of global nationalist movements and women's initiatives within them. The editors of *Isteri* demonstrated the connections between Indonesian women and their Asian sisters in issues of the newspaper. For example, the cover page of the May 1930 issue featured prominent women's leaders such as R.A. Kartini; Kasturba Gandhi; and Soong Ching-ling, Sun Yat Sen's Wife. A brief article about Gandhi's wife, Kasturba, indicated that India wanted to be independent, so people made their own clothes and now their own salt. The article's author expressed admiration for these women, noting their courage and strength in order to achieve their desires for their homeland.[233] *Isteri*'s readers would have seen India's example and the manner in which women supported the independence movement through traditional household activities. This served to further Indonesian women's belief that they, too, could use their own skills to support the nationalist movement. In the same issue, an article titled "All-Asian Conference of Women" notified readers about a conference to be held in Lahore, India in 1931. This article elaborated upon the unity of the people in India and urged the

[233] *Isteri*, May 1930, 1.

women of the various colonized territories of Asia to become familiar with each other.[234] PPI encouraged Indonesian women to become familiar with each other as well as with women in other colonized territories of Asia. Unity was the key as women discussed their common needs and aspirations, and unity was the primary requirement to garner enough strength to effectively agitate for both women's rights and national independence.

Perhaps the most poignant statement regarding nationalism as found in the Indonesian Women's Alliance's newspaper reminded readers of the arguments Sukarno made at the time regarding the role of Indonesian independence in relieving all social ills. Sukarno believed that Indonesia's economic woes directly resulted from imperialism. Only through independence, could the many social ills inherent to economic problems disappear. In "Dreams of the Indonesian People" in the Nov.-Dec. 1930 issue of *Isteri*, the author, Bijang Tjoeblek, stated that the Indonesian people dreamed of independence because independence was an antidote that healed all sickness.[235] What women at the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress and members of PPI advocated was progress for women. They believed that women's progress would lead to national development and social well-being. For them, the social ills of child marriage and lack of proper education for women did not necessarily result from imperialism, as Sukarno had argued regarding economic suffering. Yet their solution proved similar to that proposed by Sukarno—national development and eventual independence. Through devoting oneself to

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[234] "All-Asian Conference of Women," *Isteri*, May 1930.

[235] Bijang Tjoeblek, "Tjita-Tjitanja Kaoem Indonesier," *Isteri*, Nov.-Dec. 1930, 3. The original Indonesian reads, "Dari tjita-tjitana rakjat Indonesie, ini ialah akan mentjapai kermedekaan. Karena kemerdekaan itoe sebagai soeatoe obat jang mandjoer oentoek mengobati segala penjakit."

the welfare of the nation, Indonesian women and men alike would be healed from social ills.

Conclusion

The women's movement corresponded with the nationalist movement in its quest for unity among Indonesia's diverse population. Indonesian women sought greater access to education, an end to child marriage, and a type of emancipation adapted to Indonesia's unique culture and needs. The 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress clarified the goals of the various Indonesian women's organizations and united its members into an umbrella organization, PPI, that had greater power to enact real measures of change. PPI established resolutions that called for its members to send motions to the colonial government, to spread propaganda regarding the negative effects of child marriage, and to provide scholarships for girls who lacked sufficient funds for an education. Yet perhaps the strongest proposal that resulted from the 1928 congress was the confirmation that Indonesian women were, indeed, mothers of the nation. Their responsibility was to manage their household in ways that created greater well-being for Indonesian society. Development for the women of PPI meant the modernization of household practices, marital relations, and opportunities for women. Like their Dutch sisters, Indonesian women felt the need to perpetuate the practices that would strengthen the indigenous population.

CHAPTER 3: MOBILIZING THE DOMESTIC, 1939-1945

"Women of Batavia, be a support for the government and the people! You have the responsibility to your land and your family" (From the September 1941 newsletter of the Commission for the Organization of Female Labor During the Mobilization [COVIM]).[236]

War impacted women's activities in the Netherlands Indies and Indonesia for an entire decade as Dutch women responded to war in Europe, the Japanese occupied the archipelago, and the Indonesian National Revolution intensified hostilities between Indonesia and the Netherlands. In late 1939, even before Germany's May 1940 invasion of the Netherlands, European women in the Netherlands Indies prepared for the possibility of war in the colony. While their exact enemy remained unclear, European women in the Netherlands Indies recognized the precarious situation of world events and the vulnerable position their land was in due to both geographic proximity to war in the Pacific and their national allegiances that soon became a liability. Both their homeland of the Netherlands and the colony of the Netherlands Indies experienced wartime occupation. From May 1940 through May 1945, Germany occupied the Netherlands while the Japanese occupied the Indies from February 1942 through Japan's surrender in August 1945. Yet even after the Japanese left the Indies, the territory experienced war.

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[236] "Evacueeren of Niet?," *Mededeelingen COVIM-Batavia*, No. 9, September 1941. The original Dutch reads: "Vrouwen van Batavia, weest een steun voor de Regeering en het Volk! Gij hebt verantwoordelijkheid tegenover Us land en Uw gezin."

Sukarno proclaimed Indonesia's independence on August 17, 1945, but the Netherlandsdid not recognize Indonesian sovereignty until December 1949. In the ensuing years, Indonesian women continued experiencing wartime realities that had existed under Japanese occupation as they supported the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia.

From 1939-1949 women's activities in the Indonesian archipelago aligned with the demands of both the threat of war and war itself. To some extent, these activities remained similar to those of the prewar period. Both Dutch and Indonesian women sought practical methods of managing their homes and families. These women remained concerned for the welfare of those around them and engaged in social welfare activities. Other prewar initiatives intensified during conflict as Indonesian women not only fostered the welfare of their nation but actively worked for the sovereignty of Indonesia from the Netherlands. Dutch women found themselves less involved in the "uplift" of the indigenous population and, instead, reliant on the mercy of those who had formerly been their servants as they moved to internment camps under Japanese rule.

The number of women's organizations from 1939-1949 reduced dramatically and changed in their primary focus. Before Japanese occupation, Dutch housewives transformed their interest in the latest home economics trends to proper care and safety of the household. The Association of Housewives worked in alliance with COVIM (Commission for the Organization of Female Labor During the Mobilization [*Commissie tot Organisatie van Vrouwenarbeid in Mobilisatietijd*]) to both prepare European women for enemy attack and to aid in their transition to wartime economic and social conditions. Once interned by the Japanese, however, these women had to abandon such organizations.

Likewise, under Japanese occupation, Indonesian women's organizations disappeared by Japanese mandate, and Indonesian women were forced to join Japanese-sponsored organizations, such as *Fujinkai*, that supported the Japanese war effort. These Japanese organizations, however, continued Indonesian women's nationalist pursuits. The activities of both Dutch and Indonesian housewife organizations in the Indonesian archipelago from 1939-1949 nurtured the transition from Dutch colonial rule to Indonesian independence as housewives confronted situations in which they adapted the abilities and attitudes they had developed in prewar decades to the realities of war. Just as COVIM had reminded its members, war was an opportuntity for women to show their strength of character. It was up to them to be examples of courage, tranquility, and discipline.[237] And so they were.

COVIM Prepares Dutch Women for War

The Association of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies continued counseling and assisting its members as World War II began in Europe in September 1939, and Dutch women witnessed the occupation of their homeland the following year. Many of the programs of the Association of Housewives prepared its members for future events as Dutch women had grown accustomed to volunteering in their communities and supporting their nation. Once Europeans in the Indies recognized the imminent threat posed by enemy invasion, the association mediated in order to bridge the gap between domestic responsibilities and national and community demands. By December 1939, the

[237] "De Groote Proef," *Mededeelingen COVIM-Batavia*, Jan 1941.

Association of Housewives in the Indies recognized that times had quickly changed, and a new duty of the housewife was to help the country mobilize for war. To assist readers in this obligation, *De Huisvrouw* announced training courses for women and noted that eighteen locations in Batavia (including the Association's building) allowed women to register for a fellow organization called the Commission for the Organization of Female Labor During the Mobilization (*Commissie tot Organisatie van Vrouwenarbeid in Mobilisatietijd* [COVIM]).[238] COVIM had been established in the Netherlands Indies in September 1939, immediately after the outbreak of war in Europe, by Razoux Schultz-Metzer.[239] Schultz-Metzer had been appointed the first female member of the Volksraad in 1935 and served until 1940. Socially active, she was also the chairwoman of the Women's Organization of the IEV (*Indo-Europeesch Verbond*).[240] Her establishment of COVIM aided women's transition from peacetime household and community support to preparing women in the Indies for possible war.

COVIM provided the assistance European as well as Chinese women living in the Indies needed to transition from housewives engaged in social activism and community service to mothers and citizens protecting their family during war. Although COVIM did not explicitly identify specific countries that posed a threat to Europeans in the Indies, the organization had reason to believe that the population of the Netherlands Indies would not be able to remain neutral and unaffected by world war. Allied with such groups as the Association of Housewives and the IEV, COVIM permeated the colonies and was

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[238] "Vrouwenarbeid in mobilisatietijd," *De Huisvrouw in Indië*, December 1939, n.p. Microfilm.
[239] Sophia Kruyswijk-van Thiel, *Het Vrouwenkorps—KNIL* (Amsterdam: Dutch University Press, 2004), 56. Accessed through Tilburg University Research Portal.
[240] Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State: Essays on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands Indies, 1900-1942* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000), 166.

accessible to Dutch and European women throughout the archipelago. COVIM had approximately sixty-five branches throughout the Netherlands Indies on Java, Sumatra, and in the Outer Provinces, each with its local leader and office. The branch in Batavia, for instance, was established by the City Hall Secretariat (*Secretariaat Gemeentehuis*) at Koningsplein. Most other branches were headed by women living in their area of responsibility.[241] Additionally, COVIM published monthly newsletters to spread information to a larger audience. From late 1939 through 1941, the activities of COVIM provided opportunities to assist European women in their responsibilities as housewives in ways that enabled them to maintain peace and stability in their Indies homes while mobilizing for war.

The most pressing concern for women under threat of war was protecting their families from physical danger. This worry was clear in COVIM's monthly newsletter as the leaders of the organization continually sympathized with women's concerns for their children. Women, indeed, had a great responsibility to maintain and protect their homes, and COVIM supported the idea that it was, indeed, women's responsibility to preserve the home no matter the political or social tumult at the time. In its first issue of the newsletter in January 1941, COVIM reminded mothers that they had been elected to specialize in the "art of living" and to show children the joys of life. It was women's responsibility to pay careful attention to their children and care for their needs. It was up to women to create an atmosphere in their homes of cleanliness and cheerfulness. Furthermore, home should be a safe haven for children.[242] With assistance through

[241] Centrale COVIM, *Wat U Misschien Niet Weet*, Volkslectuur, 1940. 31-32. Available at the NIOD (Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie) and online via Geheugen van Nederland.
[242] "Overdenking," *Mededeelingen COVIM-Batavia*, No. 1, January 1941.

COVIM, Dutch housewives and mothers could take specific actions that would maintain a positive environment in their homes and families while preparing for war to arrive in the Indies. COVIM, indeed, offered practical help for housewives. One aspect of homelife that women needed to regularly attend to was managing their food supply. "Suggestions for Housewives" in the September 1941 newsletter counseled mothers to keep their homes stocked with cans of condensed milk, milk power, and vitamin B tablets.[243] This issue of the newsletter also provided a chart of common food products and their shelf lives, warnings about eating food that smelled bad, and suggestions for substituting meat with other foods such as fish, tempeh, or cheese. By preparing their food supplies properly, women could ensure the proper nourishment of their families amidst the hunger that so often attended war. COVIM's intent was to help women provide for the health and well-being of their families no matter the circumstances.

Physical danger posed another serious threat to women and their families, but, again, COVIM educated women regarding the practical realities of war and how to prepare for and manage them. For example, in the June 1941 issues of the COVIM newsletter, "What to Do During an Air Raid" provided comforting and practical tips for an inevitable disturbance.[244] Readers were instructed how to protect themselves from bombs and explosion aftershocks. In addition to advice such as keeping plenty of space in the room rather than leaning against walls, the article included reminders regarding the nature of air raids. First, women need not worry as they would have sufficient time between the siren going off and the fall of the first bomb in order to find a safe place.

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[243] "Raadgevingen aan Huisvrouwen," *Mededeelingen COVIM-Batavia*, No. 9, September 1941.
[244] "Hoe te Handelen Tijdens Een Luchtaanval," *Mededeelingen COVIM-Batavia*, No. 6, June 1941.

Additionally, they would have approximately thirty seconds before a dropped bomb would actually hit the ground, and the bomb would be audible during the last ten seconds of the fall. If the siren had been blaring for twenty minutes and no bombs had been dropped, residents could assume all was well and the attackers had finished their course. As a final point of comfort, the article encouraged women to be brave and not walk around nervously. "Stay calm and remember that thousands of men, women, and small children have lived through such circumstances, courageous and determined for months on end."[245] Knowing the imminent physical harm surrounding them, mothers likely worried constantly for their children's welfare. COVIM's newsletter provided encouragement to women by sharing information that would empower them to take care of their families and feel greater confidence despite the thought of an approaching war.

Knowing that armed conflict on the land where they resided was a real possibility, some women considered evacuating from Batavia into rural territories, believing they would be safer away from the cities. COVIM addressed this concern but encouraged women to not evacuate, noting that evacuation was not a one hundred percent guarantee of safety. Furthermore, the subsequent isolation would prevent women and families from getting sufficient aid. COVIM believed that sharing the load with others would make the circumstances more endurable for individual women, too. Each man and woman had their place during time of war, and any person who left his or her place would be missed. COVIM noted that while women were not serving in the military, they nevertheless remained citizens who held the responsibility to their fellow citizens and countrymen.[246]

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[245] The original reads "Neem het kalm op en bedenk, dat duizenden mannen, vrouwen, en kleine kinderen in zulke omstandigheden hebben geleefd, moedig en vastberaden gedurende maanden achtereen."
[246] "Evacueeren of Niet?" *Mededeelingen COVIM-Batavia*, No. 9, September 1941.

Through these pieces of advice to women, COVIM supported both individual and societal welfare by encouraging women to remain active in their communities. COVIM showed that it was important for women to embrace their citizenship obligations by remaining socially active even under the threat of war. Remaining within their urban communities rather than evacuating to rural territories would allow women to not only find support for themselves but also to offer it to others as they had grown accustomed to doing in previous decades.

Also as in previous decades, education remained central to fostering social progress among the colonial community even under threat of war. COVIM encouraged women to maintain the stability of their homes by counseling them to keep sending their children to school. This would signify women's courage and confidence and serve as a positive example for their children.[247] What COVIM's advice showed was that while women needed to understand the dangers of war, their families and communities would benefit from being a strength and source of stability for their children. In such a way, COVIM helped housewives adapting to wartime circumstances by bridging the gap between wartime realities and the accustomed household and family activities. Education, which had been so important to the Dutch under the Ethical Policy, provided a means to continue strengthening families and communities under precarious global circumstances.

COVIM was especially worried about the likelihood of lost children in the event of war. The organization knew of the history of French children during the the First World War and the inability of scattered children to return to their families because they did not know their addresses and other vital information. COVIM, therefore, urged all

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[247] "Evacueeren of Niet?" *Mededeelingen COVIM-Batavia*, No. 9, September 1941.

women to assist them in creating an identity card for every children—European, Indonesian, and Chinese. COVIM wanted all children, who had the potential to find themselves away from home and confused, to have a way to be returned to their families or relatives. To ensure the proper protection and relocation of children, COVIM provided free cards for parents to fill out listing their child's parents and next of kin, address, and displaying a photo of the child. COVIM instructed housewives that the cards could then be wrapped in cellophane to make them waterproof and then hung by a string around the child's neck, hidden underneath the clothing. The intent with this was that the children would always carry identification with them. Apparently some women resisted such a measure because this article reminded women that, yes, they were living in a time of war and needed to take responsibility for preparing their children for emergencies before it became too late.[248] To COVIM, war had already begun. Even before the Japanese occupied the Indonesian archipelago, COVIM nurtured society's transition from peacetime to war. It was precisely through such preparation that women helped their families and communities adapt to both the political and physical upheaval that soon arrived.

COVIM discussed a multitude of ways in which mothers and housewives could prepare their families for the physical disturbances war would bring. One article in COVIM's November 1941 newsletter suggested that women prepare backpacks or other bags with the necessary belongings for each family member in case of a sudden need to evacuate the home. A watertight backpack or shoulder bag for each child would allow all family members to carry their own belongings with relative ease. COVIM suggested that

[248] "Identiteitskaarten voor Kinderen," *Mededeelingen COVIM-Batavia*, No. 11, November 1941.

each emergency bag should include a pair of decent shoes and socks, a washcloth and soap, blankets, and a gas mask if available. The mother should also pack a sling to carry her baby, canteens to go over the shoulder, and a belt with pockets to carry important documents such as marriage and birth certificates. Finally, mothers as well as family members must know exactly where these emergency bags and supplies were kept, so they could quickly find them when rushed.[249] Such advice may have been frightening to women who abhorred the thought of being evacuated from their homes and forced to live on only a backpack's load of supplies. COVIM did not back away from such possibilities but, instead, encouraged women to face possible mayhem with courage, strength, and adequate preparation. Women's preparation would, in turn, provide family and community well-being.

Because wartime realities were not common in the everyday life of Dutch women in the Indies, mobilization of people and resources in preparation for war provided unusual circumstances in which women were untrained and unexperienced in how to prepare their families for events such as aerial attacks, explosions, and evacuation. Knowing this, COVIM provided courses and instructional materials to teach women what to expect and how to act when events required them to respond to wartime actions. COVIM's courses emphasized topics relevant to the the threat of war as well as important to those maintaining a home and family: public nutrition, hygiene, self-protection, child rearing, sewing hospital clothing, and telecommunications.[250] COVIM's courses combined household and national needs, enabling women to combine their private and

[249] "Raad aan Moeders," *Mededeelingen COVIM-Batavia*, No. 11, November 1941.
[250] "Over Het Doel en den Inhoud der COVIM-Cursussen," *Mededeelingen COVIM-Batavia*, No. 2, February 1941.

public obligations. In addition to offering courses to educate housewives, COVIM published a booklet to help women during mobilization called *What You Perhaps Don't Know* (Wat U misschien niet weet"). This was sold through the COVIM office for twenty cents.[251] This booklet provided detailed and practical information for a variety of audiences: working women, mothers, nannies, and housewives. It presented information similar to that shared in COVIM's newsletter including how to prepare meals that ensured proper nutrition, how to protect one's family from aerial attacks, how to gather sufficient supplies for a first aid kit, and more. The booklet also instructed Dutch women how many details of the war in Europe they should actually reveal to their native servants. Finally, COVIM's instruction booklet provided local leaders and addresses for the many COVIM branches throughout the archipelago. Such materials could reach a larger audience and allow women to access information from their homes. COVIM's efforts prepared both women and the larger colonial community for war.

COVIM's courses also prepared families for the transformed roles and family circumstances that tend to accompany war. For instance, because a mother's duties multiplied during war as men headed to combat, the more young women in the family could assist around the home, the lighter the burden for the mother. COVIM joined with the Association of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies to provide household management courses for girls aged eleven to eighteen years.[252] These courses taught girls how to properly wash laundry and iron, cook simple meals, sew, and clean the house. At the end of the course, the participants would take a test in the building for the Association

[251] "Algemeene Opmerkingen," *Mededeelingen COVIM-Batavia*, No. 2, February 1941.
[252] "Korte Huishoudcursus voor Meisjes van 11-18 Jaar," *Mededeelingen COVIM-Batavia*, No. 9, Sept. 1941.

of Housewives and receive a diploma upon successful completion—allowing them to feel a sense of accomplishment and adequate preparation. Taking these home economics courses would be an opportunity for young women to develop skills that would allow them to assist their mothers during a war while also preparing them for the responsibilities they would face in the future as housewives. COVIM asserted that the more daughters could complete household responsibilities, the easier it would be for the mother to step outside her family obligations during mobilization. Thus, everyone was expected to help at home.[253] Such training allowed families to maintain a sense of normalcy during wartime while adapting family responsibilities to the demands of abnormal situations.

Most of the work enacted by COVIM aided women in preparing for war rather than confronting actual conflict. Because fighting had not yet reached the Netherlands Indies while COVIM was active from late 1939 through 1941, opportunities to provide substantial aid to soldiers and others remained limited. There were, however, specific circumstances in which women could help provide immediate aid in the war effort. For example, COVIM educated readers about the "new scientific discoveries" regarding blood transfusions and held blood drives to encourage women to give life-saving assistance.[254] Another opportunity involved donating materials for the war effort. COVIM, in its December 1941 newsletter, asked women to donate their old electric light bulbs to the Philips factory in Surabaya. Philips would then recycle the materials from the used light bulbs into new bulbs. This would allow newer materials, which were so

[253] "Opvoeding van de Paraatheid der Jeugd," *Mededeelingen COVIM-Batavia*, Oct. 1941.
[254] "Bloedtransfusie," *Mededeelingen COVIM-Batavia*, No. 6, June 1941.

necessary for the war industry, to be used in other capacities to assist the war effort.[255] While COVIM prepared women for war in their own land, it also provided support for those already experiencing war outside the Indies. Women in the Indies were reminded that even though war had not yet reached their homes, it remained vibrant in their lives as it raged in the Netherlands, China, and elsewhere.

During its brief existence, COVIM empowered Dutch women in the Netherlands Indies to confront the possible threat of world war that held serious consequences for family and home life. By encouraging women to maintain stability and peace within their homes, COVIM allowed mothers to create an environment for their children that helped them transition to what turned out to be imminent Japanese occupation. Additionally, COVIM provided practical education and training for women and their families to adapt to unusual circumstances while preparing for possible wartime chaos. While COVIM may not have foreseen and adequately prepared women for the impending relocation to internment camps, it provided what assistance it could at a time of mobilization, or war preparation, within the colony. Such organizations, however, could not exist once war officially began in the Netherlands Indies, and it was up to individual women to rely on the preparation they had received before the war to cope with the situations that attended Japanese occupation.

Dutch Internment

War arrived in the Indies in February 1942 when the Japanese took South Sumatra. The following month, they occupied Java. On the part of the Indonesians, there

[255] "Attentie," *Mededeelingen COVIM-Batavia*, No. 12, December 1941.

was an initial wave of enthusiasm for the Japanese due to an ancient Javanese prophecy of "yellow men" who would liberate the people from "white men," leading to a "millenial age of righteousness."[256] Japanese occupation seemed to be the means of liberation from Dutch rule that Indonesian nationalists had been hoping and preparing for. For the Dutch, Japanese invasion of the Indies occurred as a reaction to the Netherlands' declaration of war against Japan in December 1941. At the outbreak of war in the Pacific, the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army had approximately 1,400 officers and 40,000 non-commissioned officers with Indonesians making up more than two-thirds of the army.[257] The colonial army, however, was no match for the Japanese, and the Dutch surrendered the Indies on March 9, 1942. The events that followed cemented the divide between Indonesians and Dutch that would lead to Indonesian National Revolution and Dutch repatriation.

Dutch, English, and other Allied Powers nationalists living in the Netherlands Indies were enemies of Japan. Therefore, Japanese occupiers mandated registration of all non-Indonesians on Java in April 1942 in which all Europeans and "Foreign Orientals" seventeen and older had to sign a declaration of obedience to the Japanese army and receive an identity card. Each European man was also required to pay 150 guilders in order to register while each European woman paid eighty guilders.[258] This allowed for funds to support the Japanese as well as providing documentation of all non-Indonesians living in the Indies. Of those who registered on Java (and Madura), approximatley

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[256] Anthony Reid, *The Indonesian National Revolution, 1945-1950* (Hawthorn, Vic: Longman, 1974), 10.
[257] Jong, L. de. *The Collapse of a Colonial Society: The Dutch in Indonesia During the Second World War.* Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002., 32.
[258] De Jong, *The Collapse*, 82.

100,000 were Dutch and Dutch Eurasian.[259] Hostilities intensified further as the Japanese took Dutch and Dutch Eurasian men prisoner. About 4,500 prisoners came from Sumatra with another 56,500 Dutch sailors and soldiers from Java. Many of these prisoners of war were sent to Burma and Thailand to work on the Burma Railway.[260] The colonial government instructed Europeans who had not been taken prisoner to continue working in their regular occupations as long as it did not clearly support the Japanese war effort.[261]

The fate for Dutch women and children came forth in internment camps. Estimates regarding the number of internees vary. According to D. van Velden's 1963 study *De Japanse interneringskampen voor burgers gedurende de Tweede Wereldoorlog*[262] a total of 96,300 Dutch and Dutch Eurasian civilizans were interned in the East Indies. Louis de Jong, a Dutch historian of the Kingdom of the Netherlands during World War II, considers these numbers too low and notes the estimation used by the Dutch government in postwar negotiations with Japan regarding compensation to internees. This figure estimated 110,000 internees, 20% of whom died while interned.[263] Throughout its territories, the Japanese interned over 125,000 civilians. The vast majority of these—approximately 100,000 as discussed by historians—came just from the Netherlands Indies. The Japanese also separated Dutch from Dutch Eurasian even though the colonial government had considered both groups European. Because of such categorization, it is unclear how many of each group lived in the Indies. What is known,

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[259] De Jong, *The Collapse*, 83.
[260] De Jong, *The Collapse*, 285.
[261] De Jong, *The Collapse*, 109.
[262] Doetje van Velden. *De Japanse interneringskampen voor burgers gedurende de Tweede Wereldoorlog* (Groningen: Wolters, 1963). Cited in De Jong, 421.
[263] De Jong, *The Collapse*, 422.

however, is that Dutch Eurasians on Java, perhaps around 200,000, were not interned. It was only Dutch Eurasians in the Outer Islands who were interned.[264]

Life for internees evolved as the nature of the war itself transformed. In the beginning, internees had more liberty. For example, before March 1943, internees could leave the camp. Also, until August of this year, indigenous traders could come to the camps. After this point, however, the camp doors remained shut, and contact with the outside ended altogether.[265] During these months of openness, the Japanese utilized housewife organizations to assist in their regulation of the European population. For example, local Japanese military administration in Surabaya asked the Association of Housewives in that city to take charge of social assistance, and the association helped at least 10,000 families through the support of European companies who donated to the association. The association also distributed rice, flour, soap, baby food, clothes, and more as well as coordinating for the sheltering of evacuees in empty school buildings. When the association ceased operations in August 1943, it gave all registered Dutch Eurasians enough money to live off of for five months.[266] In very practical ways, the Association of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies nurtured community welfare as long as and to the extent allowed by the Japanese occupiers. While the Dutch remained in camps, it was up to loyal Dutch Eurasians, who had not been interned, to carry on support of Dutch programs.

After August 1943, Dutch women in the internment camps came under stricter Japanese regulation. As had occurred in other regions under occupation, the Japanese also

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[264] De Jong, *The Collapse*, 509.
[265] De Jong, *The Collapse*, 466.
[266] De Jong, *The Collapse*, p. 125-26.

collected women and girls from the camps to work in brothels.[267] At some points during internment, women were also given work to complete to help with the Japanese war effort—rope making, prdocing wooden nails, sewing clothes and gloves, knitting socks and belts, embroidering insignia on uniforms, and the like.[268] Meanwhile, Dutch authorities outside the Indies had no clear understanding of what was happening to the women and children in the region, so very few aid shipments made it to the Netherlands Indies.[269] Dutch women were on their own, subject to their Japanese overseers, and separated from their homes and husbands.

Fujinkai Prepares Indonesian Women for Independence

For Indonesians, who were not interned, Japanese occupation and Dutch surrender intensified the Indonesian nationalist movement. Such quick surrender had given Indonesians the impression that the Dutch lacked courage and also that it was possible to fight against them and succeed. Historian George Kahin has pinpointed the effects of Dutch surrender on the Indonesian nationalist movement. He stated, "Regardless of one's analysis of the circumstances of the Dutch defeat, it entailed two clear consequences. First, Dutch prestige in the eyes of the Indonesians suffered a devastating blow. Second, many Indonesians were convinced that, if given arms, they could have done as well as the Japanese." The Japanese also relied on Indonesians to fill administrative and technical positions, advancing Indonesian personnel in their employment hierarchy. Through such actions, the Japanese won intitial support or at least neutralized antipathy among the

[267] De Jong, *The Collapse*, p. 456.
[268] De Jong, *The Collapse*, p. 444.
[269] De Jong, *The Collapse*, p. 428.

majority of educated Indonesians.[270] As Kahin concludes, this gave Indonesians a greater feeling of self-confidence in their administrative and technical capabilities. The Japanese had overrun the Dutch, and the Indonesians considered themselves more capable of performing jobs than the Japanese. So, why could the Indonesians not be in charge of their own country?[271] Desire for Indonesian independence had permeated Indonesian society over the previous decade, and Japanese occupation gave nationalist leaders the belief that political and military overthrow of the Dutch was actually possible. With the Dutch held captive and Indonesians now running their own country—albeit under Japanese occupation—independence seemed a viable reality.

Without fully recognizing the ramifications of their actions, the Japanese also set up civic organizations that prepared Indonesians for the War of Independence. These organizations spread nationalist sentiment to the larger Indonesian population while practically preparing Indonesians to engage in combat against the Dutch. Upon their arrival, the Japanese actually dissolved all Indonesian civic organizations. This merely changed the number of organizations, however, as the few groups supported by the Japanese continued the work women had been doing before the war while applying such activities to wartime demands. An official civic organization for Indonesians began in April 1942 when Mr. Rd. Samsudin established *Gerakan Tiga A* (Triple A Movement) as an organization intended to support the Japanese. His wife, Ny. Artinah Samsudin, led the women's section of *Tiga A*.[272] It was through Japanese propaganda that such an

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[270] George McTurnan Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1952), 102-103
[271] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 132.
[272] Kongres Wanita Indonesia. *Women As the Driving Force in Development: Why and How? : the Case of Non-Governmental Women's Organizations in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kongres Wanita Indonesia, 1985), 58-59.

organization developed, and its slogan clearly supported Japan: "Japan Illuminates Asia, Japan Protects Asia, Japan Leads Asia."[273] (Japan the light of Asia, the protector of Asia, the leader of Asia). Hence, *Tiga A* was a publicity campaign to support the Japanese Empire's "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." It did not involve the nationalist leaders and was ineffective in mobilizing the Indonesian masses. Because of this, *Tiga A* was never successful and was dropped by the Japanese in October 1942.[274] In order to garner Indonesian support, the Japanese required the assistance of nationalist leaders.

In March of 1943, *PuTeRa* or *Pusat Tenaga Rakyat* (Center of People's Power) replaced *Tiga A*. *Putera* included both the former political and nonpolitical nationalist associations of Java and Madura and established a branch in nearly every city on Java. Its nationalist character was clear, and both Hatta and Sukarno were given important roles in *Putera*.[275] Under *Putera*, women organized into a group called *Barisan Pekerja Perempuan Putera* (Workers' Front of Women of Putera). Its objectives were to eradicate illiteracy, spin yarn, and accomplish other handiwork.[276] Within the nationalist context of *Putera*, women continued development activities that sought the edification and welfare of Indonesian society. Just as in prewar decades nationalism and development worked together, women's activities under *Putera* continued this trend. As Kahin explains, "The general conviction that *Putera* was a genuinely nationalist organization headed toward self-government brought it widespread backing, even from many of the students who had

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[273] Propaganda slogan of Tiga A. Original Indonesian reads: "Nippon Cahaya Asia, Nippon Pelindung Asia, Nippon Pemimpin Asia." Each "A" stands for "Asia." Literal translation of Japanese-language Tiga A propaganda shows that each line: Japan the light of Asia, the protector of Asia, the leader of Asia, begins with "Asia."
[274] De Jong, *The Collapse*, 43.
[275] De Jong, *The Collapse*, 44.
[276] Kongres Wanita Indonesia. *Women As the Driving Force in Development*, 59.

been in contact with the underground organizations."[277] So, the Japanese supported *Putera* because they had realized they needed the support of nationalist leaders in the war effort. Indonesian nationalist leaders, likewise, considered *Putera* an opportunity to support nationalist propaganda rather than support the war effort, which had been Japan's purpose in establishing *Putera*. The organization did, indeed, put nationalist leaders in contact with the masses and aided the spread of nationalist propaganda. Perhaps its nationalist purpose was too clear, however, as this organization, too, was suppressed by the Japanese in early 1944.[278]

After the Japanese dissolved *Putera*, the organization that proceeded next, in which Sukarno continued in a position of leadership, was known by a variety of names: *Kantor Jawa Hokokai* (Office of the Javanese Service Association); *Perhimpunan Kebaktian Rakyat Jawa* (People's Loyalty Organization); and, most commonly, *Jawa Hokokai* (Java Service Association). Neither *Tiga A* nor *Putera* had been particularly successful in mobilizing popular support for the Japanese. Before this point, the Japanese felt no urgent need for political development in the Indies because the war was not yet going badly. By 1944, however, popular morale was low and economic conditions has worsened. *Hokokai* was intended to mobilize the population for Japanese purposes. While *Putera* had been under formal leadership of Indonesians, *Hokokai* was under the authority of the Japanese military administration. *Hokokai* countered the nationalist movement by insisting on the inclusion of Chinese, Arab, and Eurasian members of the Indonesian community,[279] demonstrating its commitment to supporting the Japanese war

[277] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 106.
[278] Reid, *Indonesian National Revolution*, 16.
[279] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 110.

effort rather than strengthening Indonesian nationalism. *Hokokai* had a branch in every village, and it was compulsory for those living in the Indies to join it. As such, it was not popular. Although nationalist leaders participated in the organization, they were, as historian Anthony Reid stated, essentially prisoners to the Japanese.[280] Rather than being inherently Indonesian in nature, *Hokokai* was based on organizations in wartime Japan, which included neighborhood branches that distributed food, disseminated information, and provided statute labor.[281] As such, *Hokokai* constituted an organization that perpetuated educational and social welfare initiatives in the Indies while supporting the Japanese.

The women's portion of this organization was known as *Jawa Hokokai Fujinkai* (Women's Service Association of Java) or more commonly as simply *Fujinkai*.[282] Branches of *Fujinkai*, subject to a central *Fujinkai* office, were established in regencies and cities throughout Java and the island of Madura.[283] Each branch was chaired by the wife of the head of the region concerned, who would mobilize the women of her respective location.[284] Because the Japanese had established *Fujinkai*, the occupiers viewed it less as a threatening nationalist organization and more as an aid to the war effort. Japan even established *Barisan Srikandi* (Heroine Front) as a section of *Fujinkai* intended for unmarried girls aged 15-20. Through these organizations associated with *Hokokai*, the Japanese aimed to mobilize the entire population of the Indies.

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[280] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution*, 110.
[281] Reid, *Indonesian National Revolution*, 16.
[282] "Fujinkai" is the commonly used Japanese term for "Women's Association." Older Romanizations of the term include "Fuzinkai" and "Huzinkai." "Hokokai" is also a Japanese term that could be translated as "Service Association." Many thanks to Dr. Reed Peterson for the translation assistance.
[283] *Buku Peringatan*, 35.
[284] Kongres Wanita Indonesia. *Women As the Driving Force in Development*, 59.

Fujinkai served multiple purposes. First, it was to prepare a combat army if it was needed.[285] Indeed, the militaristic nature of *Fujinkai* was clear. One participant, Sari Sulistyardjo, shared in her memoirs that *Fujinkai* was a real militaristic line of women with uniforms.[286] It is clear through this that the intent of *Fujinkai* was to support the Japanese war effort. It was intended as a support for the fight against the Allied Powers, but *Fujinkai* paved the way for a uniquely Indonesian fight against the Allies as it prepared Indonesian women for combat. In order to prepare women to participate behind battle lines, each branch was asked to conduct the following training exercises: medical, self-defense, marching, and weaponry. One participant, H. Lukitaningsih Irsan Radjamin, explained about her time in *Fujinkai* that the organization actually worked in conjunction with the Indonesian Air Force (*Pembela Tanah Air* [PETA]).[287] Women knew through *Fujinkai* that their participation in the war may take them outside their traditional spheres and into battle. *Fujinkai* prepared Indonesian women for the war on their homeland.

Additional functions of *Fujinkai* were clearly established and emphasized the more traditional elements of women's activities in their homes and communities. All the while, these activities fit within an Indonesian nationalist framework despite Japan's attempt to bridle nationalist activity through *Hokokai*. Multiple records from *Fujinkai* list the organization's directives to its members. First, the women should rekindle the spirit of love for their homeland insomuch that they were willing to "embrace sacrifice" and suffer for their nation. This directive emphasized that nationalist sentiment motivated and empowered women to support Indonesian welfare during the war rather than merely

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[285] Kongres Wanita Indonesia, *Women As the Driving Force in Development*, 61.
[286] Sari Sulistyardjo, "Srikandi Dari Jawa", in *Seribu Wajah: Wanita Pejuang dalam Kancah Revolusi '45* (Buku Pertama. Jakarta: Grasindo Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia, 1995), 223.
[287] H. Lukitaningsih Irsan Radjamin "Saham Revolusi" *Seribu Wajah,* 89-117.

supporting Japanese efforts. More practical aims of *Fujinkai* directed women to live simply and economically by cultivating crops on all available land and gathering and utilizing any materials that could be used for food and clothing. Women were, likewise, encouraged to engage in handiwork and grow products, such as cotton and vegetables, that would allow them to be self-sufficient.[288] Another record of *Fujinkai* explained the organization's tasks as taking care of all female matters dealing with society and labor, engaging in military practice exercises, assisting young women and others, and supporting any other efforts that must be managed by women.[289] Some of these activities that "must be managed by women" included practicing for air raids, comforting soldiers, managing soup kitchens for volunteers, and making non-perishable foods.[290] *Fujinkai*'s aims helped Indonesian women confront wartime circumstances and to accommodate them accordingly. It continued the work that had been discussed in the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress as it combined women's obligation to the nation with initiatives that stabilized and strengthened families and communities.

In order to rekindle the spirit of love for homeland and nation, *Fujinkai* members should engage in voluntary work. These activities combined nationalist pursuits with social welfare activities. For example, Indonesian leaders encouraged the women of *Fujinkai* to contribute to Sukarno's fund for independence. These funds included the jewelry that had been collected for *Peringatan Hari Ibu* (Mother's Day Remembrance) during Japanese occupation. Sacrificing this jewelry, the organization noted, was a good

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[288] *Buku Peringatan*, 35. Also found in Kongres Wanita Indonesia, *Women As the Driving Force in Development*, 61

[289] *Buku Peringatan,* 35. See also Kongres Wanita Indonesia, *Women As the Driving Force in Development*, 61.

[290] *Buku Peringatan*, 36.

exercise in sacrificing beloved objects, one's children, and husband for the importance of homeland and nation. Other things women might be expected to sacrifice included participating in marching exercises, dressing more simply, and reducing the use of certain goods that would benefit the war effort.[291] War required women's sacrifice, but Indonesian women were willing to sacrifice only because it would prompt the good of their nation and its indepedence rather than supporting Japanese goals.

Fujinkai continued other types of social welfare initiatives that women had been engaged in before the war began. A woman known as Djumilah Danuwihardjo shared her experience, along with many other Indonesian women, in a collection of memoirs from the war.[292] In 1943, she explained, she was the leader of her neighborhood (*rukun tetangga*) in her *kampung* in Jogja. In this capacity, she participated in the activities of *Fujinkai*. She helped eradicate illiteracy and assisted with the *kampung* barn. In October 1945, she worked with friends in the *kampung* to send food to the frontline. They did this until conditions were safe. Later, in 1947, she became a member of WAPP (*Wanita Pembantu Perjuangan* [Women Helpers of the Fight]) and was actually sent to the front in Semarang. She worked in the health clinic in the evenings and filled her extra time with activities to help the illiterate. She returned to Jogja in 1948, where she continued helping at a clinic. Danuwihardjo's personal experience provides insight into the ways in which women managed community concerns such as illiteracy while aiding the war effort through medical assistance and preparing food for soldiers. *Fujinkai* allowed women to guide their communities through political and social upheaval in ways that maintained a

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[291] *Buku Peringatan,* 36.
[292] Djumilah Danuwihardjo, "Dari Guru, Kembali ke Guru," in *Seribu Wajah: Wanita Pejuang dalam Kancah Revolusi '45* Buku Pertama. (Jakarta: Grasindo Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia, 1995), 28-30.

sense of stability. Although *Fujinkai* was a Japanese-mandated organization, it provided the means for women to both nurture their communities and foster Indonesian nationalism.

As *Fujinkai* members participated in military exercises, ran soup kitchens, crafted sewing and other handiwork projects, and provided first aid, it is likely that such activities were merely a cover for a more nationalist movement. The intent of those participating in *Fujinkai* was clearly not to support the Japanese but, rather, to engage in nation-building activities that benefited Indonesia's people and their future. *Fujinkai* empowered Indonesian women to develop the nation of Indonesia in terms of its social welfare and its quest for independence. KOWANI, the Indonesian Women's Congress, recorded the history of *Fujinkai* in its book explaining the relationship between women and development in Indonesian history. The authors argue that the activities described as being central to *Fujinkai* existence were merely "a guise" when in reality they were preparing themselves to achieve Indonesian independence.[293] Whether these activities were a cover for other activities is unclear. What is obvious is that *Fujinkai* was a nationalist organization urging love for the homeland, a combat group that provided preparation and aid relevant to wartime needs, and a women's association that continued the household and community development projects that had concerned women before (and again after) Japanese occupation. Although it had not been Japan's primary intent with *Fujinkai*, this organization prepared Indonesian women for the War of Independence from the Netherlands.

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[293] Kongres Wanita Indonesia. *Women As the Driving Force in Development*, 60.

Japan's relationship with Indonesian nationalism seemed contradictory and unpredictable. For instance, the Japanese banned the use of Dutch and promoted the use of Indonesian. This made sense as the the Netherlands was Japan's enemy, and so use of Dutch in the region seemed contrary to Japan's war efforts. Under Japanese occupation, Indonesian was the official language for administration and education (above the third grade). Even those natives fluent in Dutch but with little command of Indonesian were compelled to learn the language, and the language's status was never questioned after the war.[294] This action on the part of the Japanese furthered Indonesian unity and preparation for independence. On the other hand, the Japanese suppressed all political parties in the Indies, intensified censorship, banned the Indonesian flag and national anthem.[295] It seems that the Japanese hoped to fight against the Allied Powers and to garner Indonesian support in so doing, but the occupiers hoped to win such support without intentionally furthering Indonesian nationalist agendas.

The Japanese did, however, allow political institutions in Indonesia that actively prepared for Indonesia's independence from the Netherlands. More specifically, the Body to Investigate Measures for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence (*Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* or BPKI) was established on May 28, 1942. The sixty-two members of this body were given considerable flexibility by the Japanese.[296] Early on during Japanese occupation, it seems the Japanese felt little concern for, and even promoted, Indonesian independence. Near the end of Japanese occupation, this investigative body transformed into an actual committee. On August 7, 1945 the

[294] Reid, *Indonesian National Revolution*, 11.
[295] Reid, *Indonesian National Revolution*, 12.
[296] Reid, *Indonesian National Revolution*, 19.

Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence (*Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* or PPKI) was instituted. The intent of this committee was to complete efforts at preparing Indonesia for independence.[297] What the Japanese perceived as the goal of PPKI, however, was to create an Indonesian state, alongside other states such as Burma and the Philippines, within the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.[298] The Japanese promoted Indonesian nationalism insomuch as it furthered Japan's imperial aims and defeat of Western powers. Such promotion led to complete independence of Indonesia from all colonial and occupying powers. Benedict Anderson observed, "On the eve of Japanese surrender, the military authorities had thus laid the groundwork for an orderly transfer of sovereignty, however limited its real scope, to a largely Javanese group of middle-aged non-Islamic politicians, with whom they had worked in reasonable harmony throughout the occupation."[299] The stage had been set for Indonesian independence.

Fighting with Fujinkai to Peacetime with Perwari

Two days after Emperor Hirohito's surrender to the Allied Powers, Sukarno proclaimed Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945. By the end of the month, Sukarno and his fellow nationalist leaders had established a republican government. The Japanese offered little resistance against Indonesia, and *Fujinkai* was dissolved along with other Japanese entities in the archipelago. It was immediately replaced, however, with a new organization that had no reason to hide its nationalist sympathies while

[297] Benedict Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution: Occupation and Resistance, 1944-1946*. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), 62.
[298] Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution*, 65.
[299] Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution*, 65.

fighting in a war for independence. With the dissolution of *Fujinkai*, each regency or city in Indonesia was asked to establish an organization that would temporarily be named *Persatuan Wanita Indonesia* (Women's Union of Indonesia), often shorted to *Perwani*.[300] The intent of this organization was to prepare and mobilize women workers to help preserve and maintain Indonesian independence. The primary endeavors of *Perwani* were nationalistic in nature in encouraging members to greet each other with "shouts for independence," to wave the Indonesian flag and wear its insignia. Finally, *Perwani* members were to assist the Indonesian National Committee in their area.[301] Thus, *Perwani*'s primary intention was to ensure the solidification of Indonesian independence and widespread allegiance.

At a conference held in Yogyakarta from 15-17 December 1945, the name of *Perwani* was changed to *Perwari* (*Persatuan Wanita Republik Indonesia* [Women's Union of the Republic of Indonesia]). This name change emphasized the political sovereignty of Indonesia as a republic rather than the use of the name to represent a group united simply by nationalist sympathies. *Perwari* also constituted a social organization for Indonesian women based on the principles of godliness, nationality, and popular democracy. These principles identified Indonesian women's aims from before the war that had intensified over the ensuing decade. While women had embraced nationality since the early decades of the twentieth century, they emphasized now the role of the people as rulers of the nation. The organizaton would also provide political education to

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[300] *Buku Peringatan*, 36. See also Kongres Wanita Indonesia, *Women As the Driving Force in Development*, 70; and Hidayat Mukmin *Beberapa Aspek Perjuangan Wanita di Indonesia: Suatu pendekatan deskriptif-komparatif* (Bandung: Binacipta, 1980), 90.
[301] *Buku Peringatan*, 36. Also found in Kongres Wanita Indonesia. *Women As the Driving Force in Development*, 70.

the public in order for them to be aware of their rights and obligations as citizens of the female nation of the people of Indonesia. Furthermore, the goals of *Perwari* were to preserve social justice to ensure the salvation of mankind in Indonesian society. *Perwari* was clearly political and nationalistic in nature, but members of *Perwari* were allowed to join other politics groups that corresponded with the basic principles of *Perwari*.[302] It was a voluntary organization that enabled women to unite with each other under the common cause of Indonesian sovereignty.

Like *Fujinkai*, *Perwari* continued women's work in both supporting the war effort and aiding communities. The war *Perwari* engaged in, however, was against Dutch colonial rule rather than a means to support the Japanese. These revolutionary activities included asking members to study or prepare themselves to be educated in weaponry and defending the country and to eliminate enemy spies. *Fujinkai* had prepared them for combat, and *Perwari* continued such preparation. Members of *Perwari* also continued as care providers in setting up soup kitchens and making/collecting clothing for the combat troops serving in the War for Independence. *Perwari* also recognized the lot of single mothers and established childcare centers and cooperatives for the mothers participating in the war effort. Additionally, *Perwari* urged members to conduct general cleaning in order to nurture the health of the entire population, especially those who are fighting.[303] *Perwari* thus provided an association for women that combined their various political and social endeavors and granted opportunities for women to meet family and community needs through practical initiatives. Similar to *Fujinkai*, *Perwari* empowered women to

[302] *Buku Peringatan*, 37.
[303] *Buku Peringatan*, 37.

build the nation of Indonesia. Rather than being under Japanese mandate, however, *Perwari* allowed Indonesian women to give full and visible support to Indonesian independence. The "fighting women" of *Perwari* continued incorporating political needs into their community service activities until Dutch recognition of independence in December 1949 as well as in the subsequent decades of solidifying Indonesian national unity and identity.

Conclusion

One's national allegiance seems to matter little when struggling to survive through a war. Both Dutch and Indonesian women worried about protecting their children and families from the atrocities that inevitably accompany war. All women in the Netherlands Indies had been forced to find methods of assisting their communities and nations through unusual circumstances. Despite the common concern of women everywhere, national allegiance ended up greatly determining the different fates of Dutch and Indonesian women during World War II. Dutch women focused their efforts on preparing for war before Japanese occupation and their own internment in camps. Indonesian women, however, continued their nationalist goals and found methods of promoting independence amidst Japanese occupations. For both Dutch and Indonesian women, civic organizations prepared them for political upheaval while providing practical strategies for managing and protecting home and family during war.

COVIM helped Dutch women in the Netherlands Indies prepare for war and taught them strategies for maintaining peace within their homes. The organization educated women in ways that allowed them to adapt to changing family dynamics during

war while preparing them for the inevitable horrors that would affect their homes and communities. Although COVIM had not foreseen Dutch internment in Japanese camps, the organization empowered women to approach impending war with greater confidence and adequate preparation. *Fujinkai*, more so than COVIM, was able to address the realities of war because it actually founded during Japanese occupation. *Fujinkai* was militaristic in nature and prepared women for battle. Meanwhile, it encouraged women to continue their traditional activities of providing food and medical care to those in need. Both of these organizations enabled women to nurture their families and communities while transitioning from peacetime nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s to forceful defense of the land throughout the 1940s. The imposing question, however, would be whether or not these women's organizations could again transition society from an extended period of war to a peacetime society of a different form after 1949—one now completely Indonesian.

CHAPTER 4: A NEW INDONESIAN HOUSEWIFE, 1945-1957

"Java met Uw groene dreven
Lief'lijk land van zon en licht.
Waar een ieder vrij moet leven
Mits hij vrolijk doet zijn plicht
Laten wij met vol vertrouwen,
Helpen, U weer op te bouwen
Tot het heil van ieder mens,
Die Vrede heeft als Hoogste wens"
(Sung at a February 1949 service activity for
boy scouts and girls scouts in Indonesia).[304]

According to scholar of Asian Studies J.K. Ray, the proclamation of August 1945 "electrified" the Indonesian people, and a majority of Indonesian civil servants, administrators, and military declared their support for the new Republic.[305] The Dutch, however, proved unenthused by the proclamation. When Sukarno declared Indonesia an independent republic in August 1945, Dutch officials remained unwilling to recognize

[304] "Java with your floating green
Lovely land of sun and light.
Where everyone must live free
Provided he does his duty cheerfully
Let us confidently,
Help you to rebuild
For the salvation of every person,
Whose highest wish is peace."
Sung to the tune of "Waar de blanke top der Duinen" at a service activity in which boy scouts and girl scouts gathered food, clothing, and other items for the needy in Indonesia. See S. Abdul Kadir, "Steun-Actie," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 1(1), (February 1949), 9.
[305] J.K. Ray, *Transfer of Power in Indonesia, 1942-1949* (Bombay: P.C. Manaktala and Sons, 1967), 55.

both the Republic as a sovereign political entity and Sukarno's authority over it.[306] They had not anticipated the force with which Indonesian nationalism under Sukarno overtook the East Indies nor had any expected that Indonesian independence would be instigated by actions on Sukarno's part. While politicians and parties had debated the fate of the Netherlands Indies, the majority of the Dutch population assumed that the Indies would return to its prewar state upon Japanese surrender.[307] Although the Dutch had discussed the possibility of greater Indonesian autonomy, they considered full independence for Indonesia out of the question and believed that self-government remained in the distant future.[308] Furthermore, The Hague believed it would be able to "dictate the type and pace of colonial reforms."[309] Sukarno's proclamation of independence withdrew control over Indonesia from the hands of the Dutch into those of the newly declared Republic, or the United States of Indonesia (RUSI). The situation in Indonesia immediately after Japanese surrender in 1945 remained largely out of the control of Dutch politicians, who pushed aside the Indonesia question as the European Netherlands recovered from war and occupation.[310] The circumstances of the Netherlands as well as Indonesia in late 1945 and 1946, thus, enabled Indonesian political solidification and deeper nationalist penetration among the masses.

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[306] Jennifer L. Foray, *Visions of Empire in the Nazi-Occupied Netherlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 286.
[307] C.L.M. Penders, *The West New Guinea Debacle: Dutch Decolonisation and Indonesia, 1945-1962* (Adelaide: Crawford House Publishing, 2002), 31.
[308] Penders, 32.
[309] Foray, 302.
[310] Foray, 292.

The British were the ones to liberate the East Indies from Japan. Under General Christison, British troops arrived in Jakarta on September 29, 1945.[311] The role of the British was not to restore the authority of the Netherlands, nor was it to support the Indonesian republic. Christison confirmed that British intentions were to rescue prisoners of war and disarm the Japanese but not to interfere with the Indonesian independence movement.[312] By focusing on the liberation of prisoners and ridding the Japanese of their authority, British officials in the East Indies allowed the Indonesian republic to remain.[313] Dutch ability to reconfirm its power in the East Indies was delayed, allowing Indonesian independence to progress. Eventually, the Dutch did arrive in the region as Dutch and Indonesian delegates had begun meeting with each other. On October 14, 1946, these Indonesian and Dutch delegates accepted a truce that stipulated that Dutch troops would replace British forces but that neither the Indonesians nor the Dutch would launch any attack beyond certain demarcation lines. Consequently, by October 1946, there were 47,000 Dutch troops in Indonesia.[314]

The following month, on November 15, 1946, the Netherlands and Indonesia signed what was known as the Linggadjati, or Cheribon, Agreement. This agreement recognized the sovereignty of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia over the islands of Java, Sumatra, and Madura.[315] Through this agreement, the Indonesian republican and Netherlands governments pledged to cooperate in the formation of a sovereign, democratic state called the United States of Indonesia, which would include

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[311] Ray, 54.
[312] Ray, 64.
[313] Foray, 286.
[314] Ray, 90-91.
[315] Ray, 91.

additional islands in the archipelago. The Linggadjati Agreement stipulated that this state would come into being before January 1, 1949. Additionally, a Netherlands-Indonesian Union would promote the interest of both countries.[316] The intent of the Linggadjati Agreement was, clearly, to encourage cooperation between the Netherlands and Indonesia and allow for Dutch involvement in the independence and nation-building processes. This agreement proved idealistic, however, as neither side remained willing to cooperate.

British troops evacuated Indonesia on November 30, 1946,[317] and the Netherlands and Indonesia now fought over the territory. Despite the Linggadjati Agreement, the Dutch intended to reconquer Indonesia and believed (naïvely) that the Republic did not represent Indonesian nationalism at large. Furthermore, the Dutch underestimated the strength of Republican troops.[318] Lack of Dutch and Indonesian willingness to cooperate was evidenced when the Dutch organized a conference and established the state of East Indonesia in December 1946. The Indonesians refused to send delegates to this conference. The Dutch did not consider Indonesia an equal political actor, nor did they give Indonesians they same privileges they expected for themselves. For instance, the Republican government invited Dutch journalists to inspect its administration whereas the Dutch did not allow Indonesian journalists to even visit Dutch-occupied territories.[319] Evidently, both the Republic and the Netherlands had accepted the Linggadjati

[316] Ray, 102-103.
[317] Ray, 92.
[318] Ray, 101.
[319] Ray, 104.

Agreement only half-heartedly, leading to what was essentially a stalemate in Dutch-Indonesian diplomacy. This ended when The Hague authorized military action.[320]

The Indonesian war for independence from the Netherlands included two major assaults by the Dutch, who began their first armed conflict in Indonesia on July 20, 1947.[321] With approximately 150,000 soldiers, the Dutch launched a full-scale attack, capturing major cities but failing to overtake Republican troops, who had adopted tactics of guerrilla warfare.[322] Fighting continued when the Dutch army struck again in December 1948, taking additional urban centers such as Yogyakarta.[323] These military actions garnered the scorn of other nations. After this attack, the United Nations and, particularly, the United States pressured the Dutch to end the dispute with Indonesia.[324] The United States had declared its support of the republic in 1948, and the Republic gained political support and recognition from the international community, including by the Arab League.[325] The UN took further action to resolve the conflict between Indonesia and the Netherlands when it passed a resolution in January 1949 that called for, among other moves, the immediate release of political prisoners that had been taken by the Dutch the previous month, an end to Dutch military actions as well as Republican guerilla warfare, and transfer of sovereignty to the Republic of Indonesia by July 1, 1950.[326] It was only after such pressure from the UN that Indonesia and the Netherlands

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[320] Foray, 293.
[321] Ray, 119.
[322] Damien Kingsbury, *The Politics of Indonesia*, 2nd Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 37; Ray, 125.
[323] Penders, 39.
[324] Kingsbury, 38.
[325] Penders, 39; Ray, 112.
[326] Ray, 170-71.

brought delegates together in the Round Table Conference to finally transfer sovereignty to the Indonesian republic.

Known as The Hague Agreement of November 2, 1949, this agreement transferred sovereignty from the Netherlands to Indonesia while promoting economic cooperation between the two nations.[327] The Republic of the United States of Indonesia (which became known simply as the Republic of Indonesia in August 1950) included all territory that had been part of the Netherlands Indies other than Dutch New Guinea (West Papua), a stipulation that would lead to armed conflict a decade later. Additionally, Indonesia assumed 4300 million guilders (US$339 million) in Netherlands Indies debt.[328] Likewise, this element of the agreement would aggravate Sukarno and lead to the nationalization of Dutch and Western enterprises in order to end the "economic imperialism" allowed in The Hague Agreement. The Netherlands officially released sovereignty over the East Indies, other than Dutch New Guinea, to the Republic of Indonesia on December 27, 1949. This victory for Indonesia should not be considered an act of mercy on the part of the Dutch. Ray explains the conclusion to the Dutch-Indonesian conflict this way: "It must never be supposed that the transfer of sovereignty was due to a change of heart in the Dutch. The transfer of sovereignty was not a product of Dutch generosity, but of nationalist endurance. The Netherlands was forced to suspend further military operations as these were rendered unprofitable by the Republic's military victories."[329] The Dutch had underestimated the strength of the Republic and its troops. Likewise, the European Netherlands' domestic needs combined with pressure from the

[327] Ray, 180, 183.
[328] Kingsbury, 38.
[329] Ray, 190.

international community prevented the Dutch from retaking the territory they had assumed would naturally return to them upon Japanese surrender.

During these years of conflict between the Netherlands and Indonesia from 1945-1949, the status and identity of the East Indies archipelago remained tentative. Both the Dutch and the Republic claimed the region and actively fought to maintain power over it. Such national conflicts held important ramifications for the individuals living in the territory, unsure of their political future. As the Dutch were liberated from Japanese camps, they returned to circumstances that rejected rather than respected them. Eurasians, too, were forced to decide between their European and Indonesian allegiances. How individuals managed these precarious circumstances demonstrated the primary goals of recovery and cooperation among women living in Indonesia during the years of transition. Even after the Dutch left the region, many housewives encouraged cooperation between the nations. Their actions from 1945 until the nationalization of European businesses in 1957 reconfirmed the importance of women's domestic and social welfare activities in the building of a nation marked by internationalism.

The Association of Housewives in Indonesia embraced both an Indonesian and a Dutch identity as individual members strove to identify themselves as what I term the "New Indonesian Woman." This New Indonesian Housewife[330] loved the land where she lived and sought to rebuild it as a member of the Indonesian community. Her national allegiance, however, was in question as she navigated debates of citizenship and ethnicity

[330] The notion of a "New Woman" stems from 1920s European women's history in which a "New Woman" exemplified shifts in gender expectations for women in both Germany and the Soviet Union. For more on this topic, see the following articles: Liberty P. Sproat, "A Historiographical Look at the New Soviet Woman," *The Thetean*, vol. 36 (2007): 79-94; Liberty P. Sproat, "Woman as Technology in the Weimar Republic," *Crescat Scientia*, vol. 3 (2005): 55-75.

that would determine whether her homeland would remain Indonesia or become the Netherlands due to repatriation.

While remaining loyal to the Dutch crown, the Association of Housewives encouraged greater understanding between its members of various ethnicities. Furthermore, the more urgent matter seemed to building of the nation and people. The Association of Housewives provided the means for women in Indonesia—no matter the background—to engage in social welfare projects that benefited the region. Women joined together with a shared love for the land and identified specific strategies for aiding the poor and accommodating the needs of its members in the unique circumstances of the postwar period. Though the Association of Housewives in Indonesia did not last more than a handful of years in the postwar period, likely due to a second wave of repatriation in 1957, this organization aided society in transitioning from the struggles of war to adapting to postwar realities. By helping working women, engaging in social welfare projects, and encouraging unity among its diverse members, the Association of Housewives encouraged women to develop the new nation of Indonesia despite its continued Dutch allegiance.

New Indonesian Housewives Reunite

On Friday, February 6, 1948, Mrs. S. Abdul Kadir gathered housewives of many groupings—European, Indonesian, Chinese, and Arab—at the Hotel des Indes to reestablish the Association of Housewives in Batavia.[331] Abdul Kadir, its first President

[331] "Verslag van de Heroprichtingsvergadering van de V.v.H.," *De Huisvrouw*, 1(1), (April 1948), 7.

in the postwar years, led the gathering and gave a welcome speech in Dutch, Indonesian, and English in order to be understood by the largest audience possible. She set out the goals of the organization and expressed gratitude for the good that the former organization had brought to its members. The participants then elected a new board, work committee, editorial staff, and other officers to guide the reestablished organization. Although this organization grew from the heritage of the prewar Association of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies, this new incarnation of the Association of Housewives took on a more international yet Indonesian character. These housewives in the early years after Indonesia's proclamation of independence felt enthusiasm about the future of the organization, hopeful that it would grow and blossom as it had in prewar decades.

The purpose of the Association of Housewives in Batavia, nearly identical to that of prewar years, was to bring "family and household management, in its broadest sense, to a higher level."[332] Also similar to its preward goals, the organization stated that it could support its purpose by first creating a bond between the housewives themselves and then providing enlightenment in every area in which the housewife concerned herself. Such instruction would be accomplished through regular gatherings, a monthly magazine, demonstration and readings, and relevant courses. These initiatives continued the nature of the Association of Housewives before the war by offering instruction in household management skills through methods that had been tried and true for housewives in the 1930s. As with the previous embodiment of the Association, members received discounts

[332] In Dutch, "De gezinshouding in de ruimste zin van het woord tot een hoger peil op te voeren." In Indonesian, "Memperbaiki tingkatan roemah tangga dengan seloeas-loeasnja." The organization's goals and other items of essential information were stated in the title and contents page of each issue—both in Dutch and Indonesian.

at particular stores in the area upon showing their membership cards. The Association provided information about which stores held certain products and the current prices of these products. In many ways, the Association of Housewives in Indonesia mirrored the Association of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies. A key difference, however, was the character of its members. Although a majority of members in the Association of Housewives in Indonesia continued to be Dutch, a substantial minority were either Indonesian, Chinese, or of another non-Dutch background. The contrast in names associated with the organization presented a stark difference in the types of members leading the housewives of Batavia (referred to as Jakarta beginning in 1950).

The name of the Association's monthly magazine also remained the same as in prewar years—*De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*—simply replacing "Indies" with "Indonesia." During its first two years of publication from April 1948 until the end of 1949, the tone of the magazine accompanied the concerns of a nation in upheaval. Issues during these years provided evidence of a nation at war. Many of the articles during these years of conflict and negotiation between Indonesia and the Netherlands addressed topics related to social welfare concerns and strove to educate women on topics such as religion and health care. The magazine exemplified the cooperation aimed at in the Linggadjati and Hague Agreements by including both Dutch and Indonesian-language articles. Whereas the two nations' political and military leaders conflicted, the members of the Association of Housewives in Indonesia strove for greater understanding and cooperation among the archipelo's inhabitants. By 1950, after the Dutch had transferred full sovereignty to Indonesia, the mood of the magazine changed as it began including sections with children's games and stories, more advertisements, and stories of repatriates from

Indonesia to other nations. These additions appealed to an audience no longer at war but, instead, searching for harmony and stability. After 1950, various articles continued to address cultural and social interest in Indonesia as before, but the number of articles published in Indonesian rather than Dutch tapered off. The magazine's cover, however, featured images of four ethnically different women, representing Indonesia's diverse population.[333] Clearly, through its years of existence in the late 1940s through the mid 1950s, the Association of Housewives maneuvered through shifting national and cultural identities to incorporate housewives of various backgrounds who lived in Indonesia.

It must be remembered, however, that this association was Dutch in nature. It was a branch of the Association of Housewives in the Netherlands, and members of the board from the Netherlands made periodic visits to Association leaders in Indonesia.[334] Despite its close ties to the Netherlands, the Association of Housewives in Indonesia had a different kind of work to perform than did the Association in the Netherlands.[335] The actions of this organization from 1948-1955 demonstrated that housewives have used organizational strategies for turning everyday responsibilities into methods of building a nation and shaping its identity. In the case of the Association of Housewives in Indonesia, Dutch, Indonesian, and Chinese women cooperated in the work of solidifying Indonesian national identity as one that incorporated both the organization's Dutch roots and its present cosmopolitan population.

The Association of Housewives proved a space for common housewives to cooperate with each other and embrace the opportunities uniquely theirs in strengthening

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[333] They appear to be Chinese, European, Javanese, and Hindu.
[334] See *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 8(1), (May 1954), 1 and 8(2), (June 1954), 1.
[335] "Contactochtend Mevrouw van Anrooy," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 8(3), (July 1954), 11.

families and nations. Dutch housewives in both the Netherlands and Indonesia often referred to themselves as "ordinary housewives" (*doodgewone huisvrouwen*). The Association of Housewives, however, fought against this stereotype that many women had placed on themselves. The author of one article in *De Huisvrouw* lamented that women saw themselves as unimportant and could not seem to find joy in their work.[336] The author asked, "What is missing with us that we are unable to find the happiness we want?" Her answer: enjoying all the good things life brings and raising children to be happy people. Housewives seemed unable to find joy in raising their children because they did not believe their work was important. In response, the author asserted that women have much more power in the world than they supposed. Furthermore, women actually ruled (*beheersen*) a great portion of the world precisely because they provided counsel and advice to their husband statesmen. The author urged her "ordinary housewife" readers to consider the influence they had on their husbands' decisions in the world as well as the joy they could find in their children's accomplishments. Truly, the work of a housewife determined the welfare of a nation and its people, and the association hoped its members would rejoice in it.

The nature of housewives' lives and work differed in the postwar years from those of the seemingly carefree days of the colonial era. After World War II, the Association of Housewives had a concern about women's economic conditions that had not existed in prewar years. The death or disablement of husbands during the war now required many housewives to leave their homes each day to engage in paid employment. A housewife could not necessarily be equated with a stay-at-home mother any longer.

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[336] "Wij doodgewone huisvrouwen," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 1(12), (April 1949), 30-31.

The association went to great lengths to aid these working mothers in finding suitable childcare in their neighborhoods. After failing to find a permanent location to establish a childcare center in Batavia, the Association identified mothers in various neighborhoods who would be available to tend children on a regular basis while their mothers worked outside the home. The sitters' addresses were included in subsequent issues of *De Huisvrouw*, and the association encouraged working mothers to contact and meet the women they would ask to provide childcare. Childcare costs concerned these working mothers, but the association coordinated a program to make childcare affordable. The cost of childcare was forty guilders per month. As long as women could pay fifteen guilders, the *Kantor Maatschappelijke-Zorg* (Office of Social Care) would pay the remaining balance each month. The association did not specify a particular group of women (Dutch, Indonesian, Chinese) who could benefit from this, but the organization's continued reliance on Dutch assumed a European target audience. Even with this assistance to working mothers, however, the organization continued encouraging women to stay at home with their children if at all possible. The childcare assistance was intended only for women who found themselves providing for their families as "breadwinners."[337] By coordinating childcare efforts for their members, the association aided women in addressing the real needs of postwar life. While encouraging the traditional role of mother, the association also sought ways to relieve women's burdens that had resulted from wartime tragedies.

[337] "Kinderbewaarplaatsen," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 1(2), (May 1948), 20-21. Also discussed in later issues including O. Nelissen-Dumas, "Onze 'Kinder-bewaarplaatsen,'" 1(8), (November 1948), 10.

Working mothers also worried about how to care for their children during school vacations. These women, for example, Dutch mothers who had lost their husbands to the war, did not have enough vacation days themselves to stay home with their children over summer and other breaks. Here, again, the association made efforts to coordinate childcare with local social welfare institutions. This, however, proved unsuccessful. Fortunately, the association was able to locate a bungalow with staff who would care for healthy children ages 7-14.[338] In June 1949, the association announced a summer camp-like opportunity that cost one hundred guilders per child for fourteen days or two hundred guilders for an entire month. The advertisement assured mothers that a doctor was located nearby, and the children would, indeed, be safe. The author mentioned another location in which there were plenty of soldiers from a permanent garrison nearby. Housewives' concern for their children's safety stemmed from the armed conflict that had been occurring in the region for the past two years. Such concern for safety during a time of war between the Netherlands and Indonesia was rarely mentioned in *De Huisvrouw*, but this advertisement gave insight into one of the inevitable concerns of the time period. A working housewife needed to provide for her children while she worked away from home in ways that secured safety and stability amidst national conflict.

The association continued coordinating childcare efforts for working women through the coming years. In an editoral announcement in the June/July 1950 issue, the association lamented the difficulty some mothers had in finding time to run errands.[339] They had no one at home with which to leave their children, so they could go shopping.

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[338] "Belangrijk bericht voor de werkende moeders met jonge kinderen," 2(2), (June 1949), 30.
[339] "Toezicht op Kinderen," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 3(2), (June/July 1950), 11.

The association requested contact details of members who would be willing to watch children for a couple mornings each week. The "bored housewife" of yesteryear was gone; the new Indonesian housewife had to work outside the home while still caring for her home and family. It should also be noted that elite women may have chosen to work outside the home. In contrast to prewar decades, employment was perceived as liberating and acceptable for women.[340] What was a difficult necessity for poorer women and widows may have been an act of empowerment for other women.

Although the Association of Housewives in Indonesia was based on the cities, it concerned itself with the lot of working women in the villages, too. To this day, customs of city dwellers present stark contrast to that of the most rural and isolated villages in Indonesia. The needs of rural citizens has caused great concern to both government leaders and women's organizations, and this was certainly the case in 1949.[341] Village women were considered less educated than their city counterparts. Many were illiterate (although the level of illiteracy varied), and because schools were often far away, the children could not attend. Women in the village, like the housewives of Batavia, had the responsibility to care for their families and homes. What made the life of village women different, however, was that they were also required to work in the fields alongside their husbands. This was a heavy responsibility for them to bear. An article in *De Huisvrouw*, however, claimed that these women did not complain; it was simply what life required of them.

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[340] Elizabeth Martyn, *The Women's Movement in Post-Colonial Indonesia: Gender and Nation in a New Democracy* (London: Routledge, 2005), 95.
[341] Mohd. Sjatrie, "Penghidupan Wanita di Desa," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 2(3), (July 1949), 22-23.

In addition to the dual burdens of working in the fields and caring for their households, women in the village adhered more strictly to "*adat-istiadat*," or the traditional customs of the local cultures and tribes. This included participating in arranged marriages. The author of a June 1949 article about women in rural areas argued that such arrangements actually prevented an environment of adultery, as was known in the large cities. It is interesting to note that this article was published in Indonesian rather than Dutch, indicating the need on the part of Indonesian city dwellers to better understand their fellow citizens' customs. It is also indicated the diversity of women who were members of the Association of Housewives. These women's concerns for the lot of women in the villages corresponded with the rural development challenges that faced both the Indonesian government and aid organizations. It would not be until 1972, however, that a state-run program to assist women in rural development was established throughout the republic. It would be PKK, or Educating for Family Welfare (*Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*), as discussed in Chapter 7, that addressed the particular needs of Indonesia's large rural population that the Association of Housewives had sought to assist since its prewar years.

New Indonesian Housewives Aid Their Communities

Perhaps the most pressing need for the women of the Association of Housewives was aiding their communities in recovering from Japanese occupation or subsisting while war between the Netherlands and Indonesia continued. As in prewar years of economic crisis, the association was especially sensitive to the needs of its members in difficult financial circumstances. As such, it urged members with more income to contribute more

to the association in order to aid these women. Whether it was for participation in the members' meeting or subscription to the magazine, extra contributions from wealthier members would enable less fortunate women to enjoy full membership benefits.[342] Additionally, the association determined membership costs based on one's income. Members paid half a guilder, one guilder, or a guilder and a half per month.[343] Along with such financial assistance, the Association of Housewives coordinated and engaged in social welfare projects—many more than in prewar years. In the May 1948 issue of *De Huisvrouw*, the organization encouraged women to contact the organization if they knew of others, or they themselves, faced certain difficulties. The association was most concerned with providing financial assistance, yet no matter the difficulty, women were encouraged to contact the organization for assistance. The association could assist precisely because it kept in close contact with the local governmental social work office (*Plaatselijk Maatschappelijk Werk*), and through such cooperation, the women could find the financial or other help they needed.[344] This article from *De Huisvrouw* was published in both Dutch and Indonesian, demonstrating the organizational board's sensitivity to the needs of the population at large. Such assistance confirmed feelings of national unity and perpetuated a sense of community support, or the *gotong-royong* so important to modern Indonesian social attitudes. Additionally, the Association of Housewives focused on ameliorating community suffering—whether it be that of Europeans, Indonesians, or Chinese.

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[342] See, for instance, the announcement for the *Algemene Ledenvergadering* (General Members' Meeting) in the Januay 1949 issue of *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 12.
[343] H.E.W. Arriëns Vos, "Aan de Leden van onze Vereniging," 2(7), (November 1949), 6.
[344] "Maatschappelijk Werk" and "Pekerdjahan Sosial" in *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 1(2), (May 1948), 22.

The Association of Housewives exemplified a movement in the revolution years of 1945-49 through the early 1950s in what Susan Blackburn called "a period of heroic social work" in which women volunteered their time, energy, and means, in the service of the Republican government.[345] Blackburn explains that women's organizations (presumably Dutch, Indonesian, Chinese, or other groups) worked in cooperation with state institutions to provide for family and community welfare. In the case of Indonesian state institutions, Blackburn notes that the state did little to assist women's health needs. Apart from establishing the Mother and Child Health programme in 1951, the Republican government would not provide nationwide health care assistance to women and children until the establishment of PKK. Thus, it was up to women's organizations to promote the social welfare initiatives that helped Indonesian society transition from the periods of occupation and war to that of national development.

Women's organizations also knew they could appeal to the religious sensibilities of their members promote mutual cooperation in social work projects. In noting that the majority of Indonesian housewives were Muslim, the Association of Housewives' leaders urged its Muslim members to follow the teachings of the Qur'an in showing compassion for others.[346] Such compassion could be demonstrated through honoring *zakat*, or alms giving, one of the five pillars of Islam. An article in the September 1949 issue of *De Huisvrouw* explained *zakat* in detail, helping readers calculate the religiously required 2.5% of the value of their produce and assets. This money or donations would then be given to the Muslim community for charitable endeavors. In addition to supporting *zakat*,

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[345] Susan Blackburn, *Women and the State in Modern Indonesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 149.
[346] K.J. "De maatschappelijke zorg in de Islam," in *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 2(5), (Sept. 1949), 23-25.

however, the author of this article reminded readers that especially at this moment in time, difficulty prevailed, and it was the obligation of Muslims to help the poor and needy. Community aid through housewife organizations and religious bodies proved essential in this time of conflict and recovery from both occupation and the war for independence.

As had been the case with both Dutch and Indonesian women's groups in prewar years, education for health and hygiene confirmed the necessity of cleanliness in preventing disease. Proper health care and hygiene instruction continued housewives' quest for establishing a "modern" household while supporting the proliferation of the latest home economics practices to a wide audience of housewives. In "Cleanliness Breeds Health,"[347] the author instructed readers regarding common health concerns in Jakarta.[348] The article, written in Indonesian, reminded readers of the adage, "*pemuda sehat, Negara mendjadi kuat*" ("healthy youth, the nation becames strong"). The author explained that the Health Office worked night and day in aiding additional departments so that victims of serious disease could be quarantined and aided. Jakarta, in particular, suffered from pollution and odors that negatively affected the health of its residents. The trash and odor drew fowl to the area, which could carry disease to population. The article urged women, who held responsibility for the clealiness of their homes and health of their children, to kill fowl "or else you will be killed by them."[349] These fowl needed to be exterminated, and it was women's obligation to do this.

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[347] Mohd. Sjatrie, "Kebersihan Pangkal Kesehatan." *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 2(2), (June 1949), 14.
[348] Before 1950, the Association most commonly referred to the capital city as Batavia. After 1950, the association became known as the Association of Housewives in Jakarta rather than in Batavia. This instance of the name Jakarta in the magazine before 1950 represents an exception to common usage.
[349] "bunuhlah lalat, kalau tidak engkau sendiri dibunuhnja."

The association also educated its members regarding a particularly prevalent disease, malaria, which remained a serious concern because of Indonesia's tropical climate. An article in the January 1951 issue of *De Huisvrouw* educated housewives regarding the best ways to prevent and treat malaria.[350] The article began with a statement by Dr. Hackett of the Rockefeller Institute from the Malaria Congress that had been held the United States in 1948: "If all housewives over the entire world would assist, in five more years there would be no more malaria congress!"[351] This article described the central role of housewives in keeping their homes protected from mosquitoes carrying the disease. To begin with, readers were urged to use a spray that contained five percent DDT. This solution should be sprayed on walls, chairs, desks, and the space under beds. Furthermore, in Indonesia, it was the mosquito larvae that spread malaria, so it was important to eliminate breeding grounds for mosquitoes. This article provided practical solutions to help women in Indonesia ensure the health of their families. Concerns about malaria were not unique to this time period, as this had been a cause of concern for centuries. Educating housewives about malaria helped to produce modern households that were consistent with the latest health care developments and would improve the welfare of families and the nation.

Of particular concern to the association was the spread of tuberculosis (T.B.C.) on the island of Java. Post-occupation urbanization and the overpopulation of Batavia in recent years made the situation especially disconcerting in the capital. From 1942 to 1948, war had led the population in Batavia to skyrocket from half a million residents to 1.4

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[350] P.C. "Malaria en de Bestrijding Daarvan," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 3(8), (January 1951), 2-3.

[351] Ibid, 2.

million residents. Because of these realities, tuberculosis had spread rapidly among the entire population. A July 1948 article shared statistics of infection:[352]

Table 2. Cases of Tuberculosis

Ethnicity	**Children 5-10 years old**	**Children 10-15 years old**
Europeans	18%	43%
Indonesians	21%	59%
Chinese	30%	68%

These statistics proved that tuberculosis was a severe problem amidst the entire population in Indonesia. There was, however, a fatal connection between poverty and tuberculosis. The article included a photograph of an Indonesian child, shockingly thin with a distended belly. Such a picture presented a stark contrast to those of royal babies common in issues of *De Huisvrouw* before the war. This would have promoted sympathy among readers whose own families and communities were likely affected by the disease.

The purpose of sharing these statistics and explaining the problem of tuberculosis was to raise greater awareness of measures that could be enacted to combat the disease: isolate those in the advanced stages of the disease; improve the health and living conditions of the population through educational programs; and recognize and treat the disease in its beginning stages. The article then petitioned readers to help fund a mobile x-ray machine that would allow earlier detection of tuberculosis. The Red Cross, who asked for these donations, already had a stationary x-ray machine at its center. By having a mobile machine, however, the Red Cross could travel into the *kampungs* of West Java in order to test children for tuberculosis. This is one instance of the Association of

[352] Red Cross Batavia. "Röntgen-Fonds," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 1(4), (July 1948), 19-20.

Housewives coordinating with the Red Cross to aid in social welfare initiatives. Such cooperation in social work was not evident to this extent in prewar years.

The Association also visited a leper institute and met with its director, Dr. Boenjamin, whose international reputation was well known at the time.[353] The institute housed modern technology and kept the highest standards of cleanliness. What the Association of Housewives noted, however, was that the institute also cared for the mental and social needs of its patients. An Indonesian woman who was head of the social work at the institute explained to the visiting housewife organization members that those suffering from leprosy experienced little pain. The greater concern, then, lay with the patients stay busy. The association asked its members to donate any small pieces of cloth that some of the young women patients might be able to use for doing handicrafts. Although this March 1949 article did not indicate the ethnic background of the patients, it did indicate that it was in need of school books in both Dutch and Indonesian. Also, the leper institute requested puzzles, card games, action figures for the boys, or any other items that could provide some sort of distraction for the patients. These items could be sent directly to the leper institute or to the office of the Association of Housewives. The author of this piece had great trust in the members to aid in this work: "Knowing the generosity of the Batavian housewife, we look forward with confidence to the result of this."[354] The "Batavian housewife" indicated a woman who gave her service to benefitting others—thanks in part to the assistance of the Association of Housewives. In her new identity as an Indonesian housewife, the "Batavian housewife" provided aid to

[353] "Huisvrouwen Helpt," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 1(1), (March 1949), 9.
[354] "De gulheid van de Bataviase huisvrouw kennende, zien wij met vertrouwen het resultaat tegemoet."

all in need. The Batavian housewife's nature, however, remained unclear as Dutch and Indonesian women living in the capital city navigated new postcolonial allegiances.

Financial difficulties affected both Indonesian society and members of the Association more than in prewar years. In early January 1949, under the direction of Abdul Kadir, girl and boy scouts of various nationalities collected items to help the needy within Indonesia.[355] They gathered foodstuff, money, and clothes. Abdul Kadir praised the young men and women for their work, claiming that their efforts allowed for items to be gathered quickly. Together, they sang the rousing verse included at the beginning of this chapter:

"Java with your floating green
Lovely land of sun and light.
Where everyone must live free
Provided he does his duty cheerfully
Let us confidently,
Help you to rebuild
For the good of every person,
Whose highest wish is peace."

These words recognized the conditions of a region in transition and claimed by all who loved the land—Dutch and Indonesian alike. Java was affected by war, but the many who cooperated in social work remembered and hoped to regain the splendor of prewar Java. This action also encouraged cooperation between groups of different ethnicities—all loyal to the land in which they resided. Whether Dutch, Indonesian, Chinese, or other, housewives cooperated to relieve the population's suffering despite the national conflicts then at work.

[355] S. Abdul Kadir, "Steun-Actie." *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 1(10), (February 1949), 9.

New Indonesian Housewives Promote National Identity

Scholarship on women, nationalism, and empire has advocated the role of women in reproducing national culture. As explained in the introduction to this work, Martyn reconfirmed Nira Yuval-Davis's assertion of such by clarifying, "Through motherhood, women are responsible for the physical, cultural and social reproduction of the nation and are expected to take on roles of nurturing as they do within the family."[356] The activities of reproducing family members and perpetuating a family culture mirrored women's work in nation building. As Benedict Anderson has discussed,[357] nations develop a sense of identify through the creation of common customs and ideologies. In the case of Indonesia, a large nation that incorporated hundreds of diverse cultures, creating an Indonesian identity that could unite its citizens proved imperative. Anderson concludes that "national print-languages," provided the key method in creating and reproducing national identity. [358] The use of a vernacular, printed language assisted the solification of Indonesian national identity. Benedict Anderson explained that print created a "language-of power." It gave a "fixity to language"[359] As had been the case in nineteenth century Europe, the growth in literacy, industry, communication, and state machineries created a new impulse for "vernacular liguistic unification."[360] The magazines and other printed materials produced by housewife organizations in revolution and postcolonial Indonesia are evidence of the print culture that solidified national identity and garnered nationalist fervor. Publications such as *De Huisvrouw* provide cultural artifacts of a nation whose

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[356] Martyn, 17. See also Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage Publications, 1997).
[357] Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).
[358] Anderson, 46.
[359] Anderson, Imagined Communities, 44-45.
[360] Anderson, 77.

women's organizations utilized the printed word in support of establishing their own as well as the ruling nation's legitimacy. Analysis of *De Huisvrouw*, thus, reveals the methods and medium of women's reproduction of an Indonesian identity.

Association President Abdul Kadir explained her love for Indonesia (*Indonesië*) in numerous articles included in *De Huisvrouw*. In March 1949, she discussed visiting Semarang, Palembang, Medan, Bandung, Makassar, Ambong, and other locations in which support activities (*steunactie*) were being established to provide food and clothing to those who lacked such.[361] She described the feelings she had, the "cry in [her] heart," that encouraged her to find ways to relieve the suffering she witnessed in her country. Her words, packed with emotion, told of her allegiance to Indonesia and her sorrow over its destruction. She determined, however, to help rebuild the country, with focus on a love for the land and people rather than supporting a nationalist fervor that promoted complete sovereignty from the Netherlands. Her words regarding love are reminiscent of those which Swaan-Koopman had used to encourage her readers of *Vrouwen in Indië* (see Chapter 1) when she encouraged Dutch women to allow love of the land and its people to motivate them in their quest to "uplift" the Netherlands Indies.[362] Abdul Kadir explained: "What is missing in the world today is love. And yet, the more one gives away, the richer one feels. I have experienced that firsthand. I invite you, therefore, to a world in which hate and envy will be banished."[363] Her example of guiding a housewife association so completely focused on providing relief allowed housewives at the time to grasp a clearer picture of their potential to improve the world under difficult circumstances. Love for

[361] S. Abdul Kadir, "Mevr. Abdul Kadir aan het woord," 1(11), (March 1949), 14-16.
[362] Swaan-Koopman, *Vrouwen in Indië* (Amsterdam: H.J Paris, 1932), 19.
[363] S. Abdul Kadir, "Mevr. Abdul Kadir aan het woord," 16.

Indonesia motivated women to aid its people, and social welfare projects solidified the people's love for their new nation and homeland. Abdul Kadir built upon the feelings housewives felt for the land since the colonial period and helped them focus on the needs of the people—whether they were European, Indonesian, Chinese, or other.

As has been noted in the history of the Association of Housewives, its reestablishment gathering was attended by women of a variety of nationalities and ethnicities. Women of Indonesian, Dutch, and Chinese descent worked together on the association's governing and editorial boards. This reality highlighted the diversity of women's organizations at the time but emphasized the possible unity achievable through common goals. Elizabeth Martyn's analysis of postcolonial women's organizations clarifies the women's movement "a united but far from homogenous body." She explains that organizational membership was based on diverse criteria, which influenced the way women acted upon their interests and demands.[364] While women worked towards the common goals of improving social welfare and recovering from war, they represented a population differentiated by religions, races, political affiliations, and ethnicities.
The association furthered the construction of Indonesian national identity by uniting a diverse body of members into a united front for action and patriotism. From its first issue of *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, the Association of Housewives included articles, ads, poems, and more in both Indonesian and Dutch (though rarely, if ever, in Chinese). The was distinctly different than pre-war publications that included only Dutch articles. Now, Dutch and Indonesian sat side by side on many pages of the magazine, demonstrating the peaceful coexistence of the two nationalities.

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[364] Martyn, 75.

The association made earnest efforts to aid women of various ethnicities in interacting with each other. Clearly, the association supported an Indonesia that embraced its diversity with patience and understanding. Part of developing this understanding was through personal contact between members of different backgrounds. A December 1948 article by Siti Maryam, a member of the editorial board, provided specific suggestions to Dutch women for conversing with Indonesian women.[365] She began, "In these particular times, the Dutch woman feels compelled to seek and maintain closer conact with her Indonesian sister."[366] This use of the term "sister" was common in *De Huisvrouw* articles and indicated women's interest in developing closer personal relationships with women of other ethnicities rather than merely coexisting. In the month this article was published, the Dutch began their second military action in Indonesia. Maryam's reference to "these particular times" demonstrated her awareness of the tensions between the Netherlands and Indonesia not just on the national level but also at a very personal level. Dutch and Indonesian women could support cooperation between the two countries through their own initiatives at peaceful interpersonal communication.

So, how could Dutch women develop closer relationships with their Indonesian sisters? Maryam gives several suggestions for enabling better conversation. First, she urged Dutch women to become more familiar with the Indonesian language and local dialects, which would allow greater ease in speaking with Indonesian women. Yet understanding the language would not be enough. One must also understand aspects of effective communication. She continued, "the art of the Indonesian language is found in

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[365] Siti Maryam. "Contactgesprekken met Indonesisische Vrouwen," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 1(8), (December 1948), 20.
[366] Ibid., 20.

asking questions for which an answer is expected." Dutch women may have felt that conversations with other Dutch women came easily. They could talk about daily activities, literature, just about anything! Language and cultural differences seemed to intimidate the women, however, and Dutch women felt at a loss for conversation topics. Knowing the right questions to ask would lead to easier dialogue, and it was precisely these cultural differences that could build conversations. Maryam proposed that Dutch women should avoid indiscreet questions while still showing interest in the life of the Indonesian woman. Appropriate topics could center on Indonesian culture, clothing, customs, holidays, fruit seasons, and social gatherings. Discussing the very cultural differences that separated them was one method of building relationships between women of different cultures. She also recommended that Dutch women discuss aspects of life that would concern Indonesian women. In many ways, these aspects united women of all cultures in their identity and responsibilities as women. Topics might include crafts, cooking, health care, raising children, and more. It should be noted, however, that Maryam did not mention discussing politics or the unstable situation of government in Indonesia at the time. It seemed that the association encouraged Dutch and Indonesian women to focus on the more intimate topics of housewifery and culture. Maryam's instructions to Dutch women emphasized greater understanding at the personal, individual level rather than seeking to comprehend international events.

Members, indeed, grew greater love for each other and the association's leaders as *De Huisvrouw* included praises of its president and other board members. President S. Abdul Kadir played an especially essential and memorable role in the organization as the

founder of its reestablishment, being regarded as the "mother of mothers."[367] In December 1948, however, she resigned as President. At the 1949 members meeting, Abdul Kadir discussed why she could not continue for the time being as President. For the next four months, Abdul Kadir traveled around the world. The purpose of this journey was to gain support for humanitarian actions in which she was engaged. Another reason was to bring a better understanding of Indonesia to other lands.[368] Abdul Kadir's ambassadorial work aligned with Indonesia's efforts to gain international recognition and support. This president provided a noble example of a housewife who provided service to her nation while strengthening its identity. It was under Abdul Kadir that the association had grown, and the members had developed a special bond with her. This article of farewell noted that she would always be a welcome guest in the association. Thereafter, she was continually rememberd and referred to as the association's "Honorary President." As housewives worked together, they fostered an atmospere of unity and shared purpose within their organization. Through this unity, women created an Indonesian national identity that encompassed a diverse body of women who sought mutual understanding.

In prewar years, the association took seriously what it viewed as its responsibility to educate its members regarding adjustment to life in the Indies. The Association of Housewives continued such pursuits after the war. Learning to cook with unfamiliar ingredients concerned Dutch housewives in Indonesia. They knew how to, and wanted to, prepare European dishes but had little access to Dutch produce. The Association of Housewives educated its members in accommodating the differences in indigenous foods

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[367] "'*Ibu van de 'Kaum Ibu*.'"
[368] "Algemene Ledenvergadering," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 1(1), (March 1949), 10-13.

between the Netherlands and Indonesia. Such assistance subtley encouraged Dutch women to adapt to their Indonesian environment, breaking ties with the metropole. For example, a piece in the August 1949 issue of *De Huisvrouw* suggested appropriate substitutes for commonly used Dutch products.[369] Eggplant, for instance, could replace asparagus or be used in a variety of other recipes that might be similar to traditional Dutch dishes. In practical ways such as this, the association allowed women to adapt to their surroundings and create syncretic traditions. The association did not promote the total abandonment of Dutch customs, but neither did it continue Dutch reliance on European products.

Beginning in 1950, *De Huisvrouw* included lessons in Indonesian. Once the Netherlands had transferred full sovereignty to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia in December 1949, the association could reproduce a clearly Indonesian identity. Part and parcel of confirming the autonomy of Indonesia was reproducing its national language. One-to-two-page pieces in *De Huisvrouw* provided vocabulary translations between Dutch and Indonesia and also explained Indonesian grammar. The intent of these lessons was clearly not to simply teach simple greetings in Indonesian but rather to help readers actually learn the language well. For instance, one lesson explained the differences between the Indonesian prefixes *me-* and *pe-* along with diverse examples to illustrate each grammar rule.[370] From cooking to speaking to understanding local culture, Dutch housewives learned to adapt to Indonesian ways as they remained in a land they loved but that was no longer tied to their European home.

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[369] "Indonesische Groenten als Surrogaat voor Hollandse Tafel," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië* 2(4), (August 1949), 29.
[370] A. Ed. Schmidgall Tellings, "Bahasa Indonesia," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 2(11), (March 1950), 13.

The association made a conscious effort to educate its readers regarding the traditions of the local, Indonesian population. The association's leaders recognized the allegiance of their Dutch or Eurasian members to the organization while they struggled to accommodate tenuous political circumstances. It was the assistance of the Association of Housewives that empowered Dutch women to remain in Indonesia after Japanese surrender by embracing their new identity as Indonesian housewives rather than Dutch settlers. A key way in which the mostly Christian Dutch would have needed to integrate into Indonesian society was through greater understanding of Islam, Indonesia's dominant religion. *De Huisvrouw* aided such integration by explaining the significance and customs of Islamic holidays. In "Indonesian and Islamic Holidays,"[371] the author, Siti Marijam described the history of holidays including Ramadan, the month of the fast; Eid al-Fitr, a celebration ending Ramadan; Mawli an-Nabi, honoring the birth of the Prophet Muhammad; and other days of signficance in the Islamic calendar. The article explained the special foods that would be eaten at holiday gatherings and other social activities that might be expected. This article assisted non-Indonesian or non-Muslim members of the association in developing greater understanding of the dominant culture. In an organization whose majority of members were most likely Christian, explaining Islamic customs built a sense of understanding and unity amidst a diverse population of women. While such organizational demographics had existed in prewar years, it was only in the post-occupation period that the Association of Housewives openly and frequently

[371] Marijam, Siti. "Indonesische en Mohammadaanse feestdagen," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 1(3), (June 1948), 6-7.

addressed Islamic religious traditions. This indicated the shift in the organization's goals from promoting a purely Dutch culture to that of a diverse—Indonesian—population.

Because of its length and importance in both Islam and Indonesian culture, Ramadan demanded notable understanding on the part of non-Muslims in Indonesia. A July 1949 article in *De Huisvrouw* explained the history and customs of Ramadan in precise detail for its readers.[372] The editors clarified their reasons for including this article in a note: It was important for Duch housewives to read about Ramadan because they should be especially patient and understanding of their servants and to forgive their small oversights during these weeks of fasting. The article, indeed, enlightened readers regarding guidelines for Ramadan and what to expect in order to accommodate the needs of one's Muslim associates. For instance, the article noted that fasting affected one's mood and to expect those fasting to be irritable more often. Additionally, those fasting would likely need to spit more often and should have access to a spittoon.[373] This article spoke of the virtues of Ramadan and its essential role in both Islam and Indonesian culture. The article made clear that even non-Muslim Indonesians observed some of the traditions of Ramadan, which invited Christian housewives to integrate into Indonesia society further. The author pressed the importance of this holiday as one of the basic pillars of Islam, as a requirement of the religion, and of which the lack of observance would lead to serious consequences. This helpful article educated housewives in order to promote more positive relationships between them and their servants and neighbors. Additionally, it helped housewives adapt to the dominant national culture rather than

[372] K.J., "'De Puasa' of vastenmaand," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 2(3), (July 1949), 10-12.
[373] Ibid., 10.

remaining isolated in their own traditions. These goals signified sincere effort on the part of Dutch women to incorporate Indonesian national identity into their own understanding of the territory rather than relying on colonial attitudes and procedures. Whereas such discussions of Indonesian traditions had been nonexistent in prewar years, the Association of Housewives after 1945 proved its commitment to full cooperation between Indonesia and the Netherlands. Such cooperation assisted in the creation and reproduction of an Indonesian national identity that sought to incorporate a diverse population of housewives.

New Indonesian Housewives Remain Old Dutch Housewives

The Association of Housewives' efforts to help its members support an Indonesian national identity portray an organization eager to abandon its colonial roots in Dutch society. Such, however, was not the case. The Association of Housewives was in a period of transition from 1945-1949, struggling to determine its own identity just as the Netherlands and the Indonesian republic fought over the new identity of the East Indies archipelago. The "New Indonesian Housewife" loved the land and people of Indonesia while remaining loyal to the Netherlands. In the years of combat between the Netherlands and Indonesia, the Association of Housewives identified itself as both Dutch and Indonesian. Much of this mixed allegiance stemmed from nostalgia for the colonial period. Many Dutch women would have felt nostalgic for the days before the war in which life was more peaceful and their position in society clearer. As explained in Chapter 1, Frances Gouda illustrates life for Dutch women in Indonesia as fairly lazy.

They had servants to perform household tasks for them,[374] which allowed plenty of leisure time to socialize within colonial circles. The article "A Housewife in the Indies Fifty Years Ago" described the life of a Dutch family during what may have been the peak of Dutch colonial culture in the Indies.[375] The story tells of a family in which father left early in the morning to work. His wife remained at home with her servants, whose number had been much larger in "those days." The article reminsced about "*rijsttafel*," settlers' beautiful homes and neighborhoods, afternoon naps, and the excitement of what could have been a typical evening for Dutch settlers in the Indies. Guests visited, and they enjoyed drinks together followed by the men smoking cigars from Manila. Then the dance party began. According to the author, dance parties were one of the "most beloved amusements" of that time.[376] As the night ended and the guests left, husband and wife changed into their sleeping attire perfectly suited to the East Indies climate and culture. By that time, the servants had washed the silver and crystal, and husband and wife could turn off the lamps and sleep in peace.

This story exemplified the persistent nostalgia in the hearts of Dutch settlers for the times of ease they had experienced in former decades. The servants, the luxuries, the social occasions, the beautiful home and garden. These had all been appealing benefits of living in the Netherlands Indies despite its unfamiliar cultures and distance from the homeland. Readers in 1948 still longed for these niceties and certainly glorified that past

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[374] Frances Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas: Colonial Practice in the Dutch East Indies, 1900-1942* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), 158.

[375] "Een Indische Huisvrouw van 50 jaar geleden," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 1(5), (August 1948), 31-35. The anonymous author made use of Victor Ido's "Indië in den goeden ouden Tijd" (The Indies in the Good Old Days) as well as memories from her grandmother to compose this piece. The title of this cited piece indicates the attitude towards changes in the archipelago and the nostalgia of colonial rule.

[376] Ibid., 34.

in the context of a tumultuous present. War raged between the Netherlands and Indonesia in 1948 as the Netherlands only reluctantly departed from its colonial territory. Certainly, women whose lives had been such as described in "A Housewife in the Indies Fifty Years Ago" would have hesitated to abandon their homes. Perhaps they believed they could reconcile their love for Indonesia with their continued loyalty to the Netherlands.

There was no doubt that the Association of Housewives continued to pay tribute to the Dutch crown. The August 1948 issue of *De Huisvrouw* honored Queen Wihelmina's Golden Jubilee.[377] A full page stating the occasion preceded a full-page photograph of the queen. Mrs. S. Abdul Kadir, the Association President, then paid tribute to the queen for the good she had endowed upon the Netherlands, the West, and Indonesia and its people. Abdul Kadir honored her further in reminding readers that the family the basic unit of society and the place where mankind looked for examples. Because of that, it was under the title "Mother of the People"[378] that the Association of Housewives wished to honor their beloved queen. Abdul Kadir, who proved her love for and allegiance to Indonesia, also supported her Dutch rulers. In September 1948, Queen Wilhelmina abdicated the throne and passed it on to her daughter, Juliana. In the April 1949 issue of *De Huisvrouw*, the association paid homage to the new queen in honor of her birthday.[379] Similar to the approach taken with the tribute to Queen Wilhelmina, this birthday greeting for Queen Juliana honored her position as mother. The housewives of Batavia felt a special connection to Queen Juliana, who was engaged in state affairs while raising daughters. Following the queen's example, the housewives of Batavia faced the

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[377] *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 1(5), (August 1948), 1-3.
[378] "moeder van het volk."
[379] *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 1(12), (April 1949), 10.

dual burden of caring for their own families while participating in work and service outside of their homes. While they felt such a personal connection with the queen, they navigated national allegiances that seemed to conflict. For these housewives, however, cooperation was key. They held onto an image of Dutch-Indonesian relations that allowed for unity between the two countries while perpetuating unique national identities for each land and its people.

Even after the Netherlands transferred full sovereignty to Indonesia in December 1949, the Association of Housewives maintained its Dutch roots. December issues of *De Huisvrouw* typically embraced the Christmas season. For example, the cover of the December 1950 issue illustrated the trimmings of a Christmas tree—with palm trees in the background. What was significant about this issue was that it focused more on Christmas than previous December issues had even though the country was no longer under Dutch control. About half the articles in this issue of *De Huisvrouw* concerned Christmas: activities for children, stories about Sinterklaas, traditional Dutch recipes for goodies such as *speculaas* and *oliebollen*. There were no articles in Indonesian in this issue, indicating that its target audience was Dutch, despite the fact that *De Huisvrouw* had begun publishing Indonesian language lessons this same year.

Ultimately, the Association of Housewives' attempts to make Indonesian housewives out of Dutch women proved impossible. Especially after 1949, the association confronted the reality of repatriation of its members rather than continuing to assist them in adapting to Indonesian customs. Some Dutch and Eurasian members initially hoped to remain in Indonesia but found themselves pressured to migrate elsewhere. Between 1946 and 1964, approximately 330,000 Dutch and Dutch-

Indonesians repatriated to the Netherlands, finding it difficult to be accepted in the newly independent Indonesia.[380] Although 100,000 chose to leave initially after 1949, another approximately 200,000 left Indonesia in the coming two decades.[381] Scholars J.E. Ellemers and R.E.F. Vaillant's analysis of the repatriation of Dutch and Dutch-Indonesians provided numbers of those who remained in Indonesia. After the 1949 independence of Indonesia and a two-year transition period in which inhabitants could choose which citizenship to take on. About 30,000 to 32,000 settlers of Dutch nationality decided to stay in Indonesia and take on Indonesian citizenship instead of repatriating to the Netherlands as Dutch citizens.[382] Reasons for doing this included the idea that it was "the most natural solution" for Dutch-Indonesians to stay in the land they were born in. Even some settlers who had been born in Holland chose to remain in the land they had lived in for so many years and thus opted for Indonesian citizenship. Also, marriage to an Indonesian and/or seeking to remain with parents who needed help encouraged others to stay there rather than repatriating.[383] Thus, there were a variety of reasons why women of Dutch citizenship would have chosen to remain in Indonesia after the transfer of sovereignty.

Ellemers and Vaillant also explored the later waves of repatriates. In the 1950s and 1960s many of those who had opted to remain in Indonesia and give up their Dutch citizenship ended up regretting that decision. Thus, another influx of repatriates came to

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[380] Justus M. van der Kroef, "The Eurasian Minority in Indonesia," *American Sociological Review* 18, no. 5 (October 1953): 490. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2087431.
[381] Ulbe Bosma, R. Raben, and Wim Willems. *De Geschiedenis van Indische Nederlanders* (Amsterdam: B. Bakker, 2006), 189.
[382], J. E. Ellemers and R. E. F. Vaillant, *Indische Nederlanders en gerepatrieerden* (Muiderberg: D. Coutinho, 1985), 126.
[383] Ibid., 126.

the Netherlands, and the number of Dutch who remained in Indonesia grew even smaller to approximately 6,000. There is very little known over these people, but Ellemers and Vaillant proposed that they were most likely elderly and widows of members of the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army, who were left destitute.[384] Although Indonesian policy accepted Dutch-Indonesians as equal citizens, the reality was much different. Ex-Netherlanders were considered "undesirable elements."[385] For these reasons, Dutch and Dutch-Indonesian members of the Association of Housewives left the land they loved a moved somewhere that their mixed allegiances would, they hoped, not be as detrimental.

Repatriation to an unfamiliar "homeland" would have intimidated housewives who had never known life outside Indonesia. Accounts of life in the Netherlands might have comforted and encouraged those considering repatriating or approaching their departure. One contributor to *De Huisvrouw*, Amé Lysen, shared her impressions of the Netherlands after making an excursion there. Her two-part article in the December 1950 and January 1951 issues gave readers a feeling for life in the Netherlands.[386] She stated that "literally everything can be obtained in the Netherlands" but that prices of many things were much higher than before the war.[387] She also explained the fashion at the time and specific prices and quality of fabrics available. What astounded her were the number of motorized bikes in the country.[388] Lysen also observed the mood of the country, stating that it was very poor. Migrants, in particular, worried about their future.

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[384] Ibid., 128.
[385] Bosma, Raben, and Willems, 189.
[386] Amé Lysen, "Indrukken Uit Nederland," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 3(7), (December 1950), 14-15; 3(8), (January 1951), 11, 20.
[387] Ibid. 14.
[388] Amé Lysen, "Indrukken Uit Nederland," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 3(8), (January 1951), 11, 20.

Would they find work in this overpopulated country? What would be the future of their children if they stayed in the Netherlands? Should they further migrate to Canada or Australia? Many, thus, worried about the future of Europe and the future of their families. This was, again, a time of uncertainty in which individuals comprehended neither their national identities nor their future. Citizenship status as either Dutch or Indonesian did not adequately characterize many repatriates' feelings of identity. The association sought to provide encouragement. In the February 1951 issue of *De Huisvrouw*, an update from the Netherlands described how things had been going for the recent immigrants.[389] The author explained that things were easier for the immigrants now as their was more currency available. Additionally, the Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing was working to regulate prices for homes to be newly built. This would have allowed migrants to feel greater ease about the possibility of settling into a new environment. Providing specific details of what to expect in the Netherlands would have allowed repatriates to prepare themselves for migration. The Association of Housewives attempted to assist its members in adapting to life in Indonesia. When that was not possible, the association aided women in repatriating.

Ultimately, housewives portrayed deep sorrow at having to leave Indonesia and its beautiful memories. The following poem by Lea Morris, titled "*Afscheid*" ("Farewell") in the March 1950 issue of *De Huisvrouw*[390] illustrated the grief of women facing repatriation:

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[389] "Gemengd nieuws uit Nederland," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 3(9), (February 1951), 11.
[390] Lea Morris, "Afscheid," *De Huisvrouw in Indonesië*, 2(11), (March 1950), 23. This poem had been dedicated to Mrs. L. Wassenaar—Jellesma.

De regens zijn weer doorgebroken, *en koelte heerst zo nu en dan* *in de benauwdheid van de tropen,* *die 'k soms niet meer verdragen kan.*	The rains have broken through again, and coolness prevails now and then in the anguish of the tropics, that I sometimes cannot bear.
De matheid is geheel geweken; *fris reikt het gras weer naar omhoog.* *De palmen ook wiegen tevreden* *tegen de gouden hemelboog.*	The dullness is completely gone; fresh reaches the grass upwards again. The palms also rock satisfied against the gold heavenly arch.
Ik weet dat ik hier niet terugkom. *Diep in mij is dit leed verstard.* *Dit onverstoorbaar schone landschap* *bezat altijd mijn ganse hart.*	I know I will not return here. Deep within me this suffering is fossilized. This unstirred beautiful landscape always possessed my entire heart.
Nu zijn de regens doorgebroken, *en in de vochtige natuur* *weet ik, dat 'k altijd zal verlangen* *naar dit van goud doorglansde uur.*	Now the rains have broken through, and in the moist nature I know that I will always long for this gold shining hour.
Waarom moet ik nu weg van Java, *waar eens mijn wieg in vrede stond,* *en kan mijn lichaam nimmer rusten* *in deze mijn geliefde grond.*	Why do I have to leave Java, where once my cradle stood in peace, and my body can never rest in this my beloved land.

Noting that her cradle once stood in Java, the author lamented that the home of her birth would never be her resting place upon death. This is the sorrowful farewell of a repatriate going to a "homeland" in which she had likely never set foot before. To her, home had always been the island of Java. Repatriation required housewives who considered themselves neither solely Dutch nor solely Indonesian to seek a new life abroad.

Conclusion

The articles from migrants to other countries aligned with a broader international focus in *De Huisvrouw*. By 1954, the magazine had started including stories of women in

Africa, housewives in South America, and more. Indonesia was concerned not just with its national identity but also with its place among the nations of the world. This aligned with the trends in other Indonesian women's organization such as Perwari, which will be discussed in the following chapters. What resulted for the Dutch was Sukarno's elimination of all elements of imperialism. Throughout the 1950s, antagonism towards Europeans in Indonesia increased, and in 1957, Sukarno nationalized many of its private companies. The Dutch had been pushed out of the archipelago.

It is unclear when the Association of Housewives in Indonesia dissolved, but issues of *De Huisvrouw* are only available through 1955. These housewives attempted to straddle a Dutch-Indonesian identity that actively improved the welfare of Indonesia's people. Housewives united in humanitarian aid projects and actively sought the cooperation that had been encouraged by the Linggadjati Agreements and the creation of a Netherlands-Indonesia Union. Such unity remained a challenge for Indonesian women through the coming decades even as the Dutch abandoned the territory. The new Republic would only survive if its diverse people could unite under common principles and goals—a primary aim of both Sukarno and organizations such as Perwari. As in previous decades and contexts, women's organizations empowered women to integrate their responsibilities as wives and mothers in order to perpetuate nationalist ideologies and social welfare programs that would create what would truly end up exemplifying the "New Indonesian Housewife."

CHAPTER 5: RAISING THE NATION UNDER PANCASILA, 1945-1957

"*Women's concerns are society's concerns*"
(From Sukarno's book *Sarinah*. Originally published in 1947).[391]

As the Association of Housewives in Indonesia straddled multiple identities, other women's organizations confronted the realities of the new political system of parliamentary democracy that characterized the Indonesian government from 1945-1958. As discussed in previous chapters, Indonesian independence came only after decades of growing nationalism and years of Japanese occupation and war with the Netherlands. These historical developments had brought nationalist sentiment to the masses, but Indonesian independence could not be confirmed without continued mobilization of these masses in the postwar years. The quest for independence had united the people against a common enemy. Now that independence had been achieved, however, the difficulty lay in nation building, for which there were what economic historian Adam Schwarz considered "varied and contradictory ideas of how to govern."[392] Perhaps sensing the

[391] Sukarno, *Sarinah: Kewajiban Wanita Dalam Perjuangan Republik Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Bung Karno, 2014. Original published in 1947 in Yogyakarta. "Soal wanita adalah soal masyarakat."
[392] Adam Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia's Search for Stability* (Oxford: Westview Press, 2000), 5.

impending disunity independence would bring to the nation, Sukarno prepared an ideology that would guide both the new government and the people of the Republic of Indonesia. On June 1, 1945, Sukarno delivered a stirring speech to the Investigative Committee for the Preparation of Independence (*Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan*) that encouraged an immediate fight for independence while establishing ideological guidance for Indonesian unity and national identity. Coming amidst growing anti-Japanese sentiment, [393] his speech, "The Birth of Pancasila,"[394] clarified the rationale for uniting the Indonesian archipelago and how such unification and complete sovereignty could be, first, attained and then maintained. Consequently, Pancasila (meaning "Five Principles") became and remains the foundational and guiding ideology of the Republic of Indonesia.

Also in 1945, Sukarno guided the creation of Indonesia's first constitution. This constitution set up a parliamentary system and was intended by Sukarno to be provisional. This was followed by a new constitution in 1949 upon Dutch transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia, but many believed this constitution had been unduly influenced by the Dutch. Consequently, a new constitution in 1950 reconfirmed parliamentary government and set up a constitutional assembly (*Konstituante*). The 1950 constitution remained in effect in Indonesia until 1959.[395] Thus, under a democratic republic and following the guidance of *Pancasila*, Indonesians moved forward to a future that they hoped would eliminate the

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[393] George McTurnan Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1952), 122.
[394] Sukarno, "Lahirnja Pantja-Sila," June 1, 1945. Published by the Yayasan Bung Karno, *Lahir-nja Pantja-Sila: Bung Karno menggembleng dasar-dasar Negara*, date and place of publication unspecified. Retrieved from the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia.
[395] Schwarz, 7.

injustices of the colonial era and solidify the status of the new nation within the international community.

The political structures defining Indonesia in the 1950s proved favorable for the women's movement. Susan Blackburn noted the freedom the new state gave to women's organizations in participating in activities all the way down to the village level. Consequently, women's organizations "flourished."[396] Despite the freedom given to civic organizations during the 1950s, it was a decade characterized by political instability and contestations between nationalist, Islamic, socialist groups, and the military. Scholar Elizabeth Martyn determined that such contestations duplicated themselves in the women's movement.[397] And although regional difficulties had not been resolved by 1950, Anthony Reid explained that "a powerful Indonesian identity had been forged, which ensured that all such problems would find their solution in the context of one nation."[398] Women's organizations, likewise, found their solutions in the context of a united and sovereign Republic of Indonesia. Though problems existed in the new nation, a sense of hope prevailed that guided the nation's leaders as well as women's organizations to tackle the problems together. Perwari provided an example of an apolitical women's organization that integrated Pancasila into its aims and activities, which empowered Indonesian women to participate in developing the nation and its people according to new state philosophies.

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[396] Susan Blackburn, *Women and the State in Modern Indonesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 22-23.
[397] Elizabeth Martyn, *The Women's Movement in Post-Colonial Indonesia: Gender and Nation in a New Democracy* (London: Routledge, 2005), 57.
[398] Anthony Reid, *The Indonesian National Revolution, 1945-1950* (Hawthorn, Vic: Longman, 1974), 172.

As explained at the end of Chapter 3, Perwari formed from Fujinkai, whose main purpose had been to assist in the war effort under the Japanese. With the Japanese out of the archipelago, Perwari could continue aiding society during the war for independence while fostering a visible and aggressive nationalist agenda. Perwari was, thus, born at a congress of Indonesian women's organizations held at Klaten (Central Java) on December 15-17, 1945. The result of this congress was similar to that of the First Indonesian Women's Congress in 1928: the unification of women's organizations promoting similar objectives and principles. This time, rather that maintaining the previous name of *Perikatan Perempoean Indonesia* (Indonesian Women's Alliance or PPI), the congress chose to promote the unity of women within the new republic. *Persatuan Wanita Republic Indonesia*, or Perwari resulted from this.[399] From its foundation, the goals and activities of Perwari aligned with the principles outlined in *Pancasila*, and so perpetuated Pancasila within their homes, communities, and social organizations.

In 1951, Perwari clarified that what it meant by Pancasila was no different than those principles, established by Sukarno, that provided a basic foundation for the nation. The organization's leaders believed Pancasila would provide unity to the actions of the organization's members,[400] just as it provided unity to the nation as a whole. The use of Indonesian as the language of communication for this organization assisted in perpetuating the notion of an imagined community, and Perwari published its monthly magazine in Indonesian. Perwari's first monthly magazine was produced out of

[399] Pusat Pimpinan Perwari, "Perwari Sewindu," *Suara Perwari* 4(3), (December 1953): 4.
[400] Nj. S. Poedjoboentoro, "Sedikit tentang azas dan tudjuan Perwari," *Suara Perwari* 1(8), 2

Yogyakarta and briefly titled *Siaran Perwari* (Perwari's Broadcast), but the title changed to *Suara Perwari* (Voice of Perwari) in March 1951 as the organization moved its headquarters to Jakarta.[401] The subtitle for this magazine changed over the years from simply stating that it was a monthly magazine to indicating its audience and purpose. For example, in June 1954, the subtitle "*Pendorong Kemadjuan*" (Supporters of Progress) was added to the title. This clarification identified Perwari's members as dedicated to progress and development of Indonesia in addition to promoting greater unity among the people. Further, in September 1957, the subtitle of *Suara Perwari* changed again to "*Madjalah Untuk Wanita Berdjoang*" (Magazine for Fighting Women). Perwari considered its members not just dedicated to progress but also committed to fighting for nationalist unity and social justice. The content of the magazine also varied over its years of publication (1951-1959) and demonstrated the organization's appeal to a variety of women. For instance, in the August 1954 issue, articles about cosmetics could be found next to those debating polygamy. The magazine revered women in politics, academia, medicine, and other noble professions while advocating women's traditional role as caretaker of home and family. These examples confirmed Perwari's character as appealing to women's traditional role as nurturers of the nation in ways that encouraged them to assist the nation at large while managing their households as before. Clearly, Perwari intended both the organization and its magazine to appeal to a majority of women in Indonesia. What Perwari hoped would unite women of diverse backgrounds and interests was shared commitment to Pancasila. Perwari's activities during the

[401] T. Sujud, "Perwari dengan suara perwarinja," *Suara Perwari* 4(3), (December 1953), 20-21. I have thus far been unable to locate *Siaran Perwari* in libraries and archives.

parliamentary period of Indonesian history from 1945-1958 demonstrated the organization's integration of Pancasila as a means to unite and progress (*kemadjuan*) the new, independent nation of Indonesia. This chapter identifies specific principles of Pancasila, as outlined by Sukarno in 1945,[402] and Perwari's programs and activities in the 1950s that corresponded to each of these principles. These principles included Indonesian nationalism, internationalism/humanism, consultative representation, social welfare, and devotion to Almighty God.

Independence or Death (*Merdeka Atau Mati*)

Before discussing the guiding principles of an independent Indonesia, Sukarno had to convince his listeners in the Investigative Committee for the Preparation of Independence in June 1945 that Indonesia was ready for independence—now. Some nationalists wanted independence but believed Indonesia needed to fix its domestic problems first. Or perhaps the economy needed to improve, or illiteracy needed to be eradicated. Whatever the reason, Sukarno addressed the rationale for not postponing independence. Furthermore, he asserted, Indonesia had to follow its own destiny, its own path, rather than following the principles and actions of other independent nations. These nations, however, could provide helpful and inspiring examples. Soviet Russia, for instance, had united a large population, most of whom were illiterate.[403] Russia did not have an extensive and well-developed infrastructure or a "sufficient number" of schools and radios. Despite these circumstances, the Russian revolution succeeded. Sukarno used

[402] The exacting wording and interpretations of the five principles of Pancasila have shifted over the years. In this instance, I prefer to use Sukarno's original speech and the interpretations that Perwari relied on upon its founding.
[403] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 11.

this example to convince his listeners that not one nation that had engaged in revolution or declared itself independent had been adequately "prepared" for doing so. Yet, somehow, the people of these countries had been capable of maintaining a nation despite the obstacles.[404] Sukarno believed the same would be true for Indonesia.

Recognizing the concerns regarding Indonesia's level of preparation for independence, Sukarno argued that independence concerned the people more than it concerned a land's infrastructure. To Sukarno, a people that desired independence and were willing to sacrifice their lives for it indicated readiness to be independent more than economic stability and the development of roads, canals, and telecommunications. He stated, "If the people of our nation, Indonesia, albeit with bamboo spears, are prepared to die to maintain their homeland of Indonesia, at that time the nation of Indonesia is ready, ripe for independence."[405] Sukarno understood that the people themselves fought for independence, and it was the people who would become free through independence.[406] They did not need riches and prosperity. For Sukarno, if there existed a people, their land, and a government, the nation could be considered independent.[407] Thus, he believed, Indonesians were ready for independence.

Sukarno's commitment to Indonesian independence confirmed that war with the Netherlands would be justified. He argued that the only way to achieve independence was through warfare. Furthermore, Indonesia needed such struggle in order to become a strong nation. Sukarno concluded that only through fighting for one's worldview could it

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[404] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*,"15.
[405] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 16. "*Kalau bangsa kita, Indonesia, walaupun dengan bambu runtjing, saudara-saudara, semua siap-sedia mati, mempertahankan tanah air kita Indonesia, pada saat itu bangsa Indonesia adalah siap-sedia, masak untuk Merdeka*."
[406] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 18.
[407] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 19.

actually become a reality. Before the Netherlands had engaged in military actions in Indonesia, Sukarno prepared the people for impending battles that would forge not only an independent but also a stronger nation. He understood that going to war for independence would be risky. He urged the Indonesian people to be courageous enough to take a risk. If they did not unite and take a risk, he noted, Indonesia would never gain independence.[408] This fighting spirit permeated nationalist literature and motivated Sukarno to propose principles that would aid Indonesian unification and success in the struggle for independence. His speech mandating "independence or death" prepared Indonesians for the war of independence that took place in the coming years.

Fighting with the Trisula

Sukarno's commitment to the fight for independence established a foundation for women's organizations who also supported independence through struggle. Even after the Netherlands transferred sovereignty in December 1949, Perwari maintained a "fighting spirit" that served to continually unite its members. As noted in earlier, Perwari's membership considered themselves "fighting women" who promoted, first, the struggle for Indonesian independence and, then, solidification of the nation's autonomy and identity. The organization's emblem was a trisula (or trident), which represented that for which Indonesian women struggled. It was a weapon that was "courageous and firm,"[409] as were the women who sought to unify and develop the nation of Indonesia in

[408] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 47-49.
[409] "Lentjana Perwari," *Suara Perwari* 4(3), (December 1953), 7-8.

the 1950s. As explained in 1953, each aspect of the association's badge or logo held important meaning,[410] as seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Perwari Badge

The three points of the trisula represented stages of life: Birth, Educational Development, and Maturity. Each stage of life held particular meaning in a woman's life. In birth, a child was born to its mother only through struggle. This proved that struggle was inherent in one's growth and development just as struggle was essential to the creation of a strong nation. In the phase of educational development, a mother taught her child with affection and accountability. Likewise, mothers of Indonesia were held accountable for the affectionate nurturing and development they could and should provide to their families and larger nation. Finally, the third point symbolized that after a

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[410] "Lentjana Perwari," *Suara Perwari* 4(3), (December 1953), 7-8.

child reached adulthood, he or she had the responsibility to act as a member of the nation. That was precisely what Perwari empowered its members to do—become active and contributive citizens of the nation of Indonesia. The trident, thus, reminded Indonesian women of their citizenship obligations that would aid the development of the young nation. These three points also reminded Perwari members that everything had a beginning, a continuation, and a finishing touch. Life was characterized by progression and cycles, and women played important roles in each of its stages. The trident confirmed the importance of womanhood and women's roles as nurturers of family and nation.

The badge also validated Perwari's purpose and objectives in support of national unity. The five curvatures in the insignia represented the five principles of Pancasila. The nation's founding principles served as Perwari's founding principles, too. Additionally, the circular frame of the trisula symbolized the unity of the world—one globe of humanity and democracy. This indicated Perwari's international character and its dedication to sharing the world and promoting peace. The background (originally red and white) portrayed the colors of the Indonesian flag, thus promoting Indonesian nationalism to which the association adhered.[411] This symbol embodied the "independence or death," that Sukarno had suggested would be necessary in the war for independence from the Netherlands. Perwari's founding in December 1945 was based on the necessity of struggle, and it fought along with the nation until 1949. After the transfer of sovereignty, Perwari continued in the spirit of struggle. As can be seen with Perwari's actions in the decade of the 1950's, Perwari motivated its members to fight for continued national unity while improving society in ways that corresponded with Pancasila. Perwari's insignia of

[411] "Lentjana Perwari," *Suara Perwari* 4(3), (December 1953), 7-8.

the trisula confirmed the organizations belief that struggle made Indonesia stronger, and that Perwari would fight valiantly in such struggles.

In her analysis of post-colonial women's organizations in Indonesia, Martyn concluded that women felt it was important to emphasize their duties as citizens in order to address development problems and continue the nationalist struggle.[412] Rather than focusing on a rhetoric of citizenship rights or women's rights, Perwari emphasized women's obligations to the new nation. Their fight was not necessarily a fight for rights but, rather, a fight for unity and progress. As had been the case at the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress, Indonesian women incorporated their own interests and demands into the nationalist cause. They believed that Indonesian independence would, in turn, remedy the concerns of equal education and marriage reform and other social issues for which women fought. By putting national unity first, women hoped their more personal challenges might be resolved. As the 1950s demonstrated, however, women's mobilization for the national cause meant they would receive little reciprocation from the state in advancing gender issues.[413] As had been the case before independence, women's obligations to their nation proved more pressing than their quest for rights. Perhaps they believed that independence had, indeed, brought them greater equality as they were now able to vote and be elected to office and, according to the constitution, be treated equally with men. Events in the 1950s, however, tested their limits of citizenship and required women to negotiate and renegotiate with national ideologies and government policies in order to develop the nation in ways that also advanced a women's movement.

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[412] Martyn, 206.
[413] Martyn, 207.

Indonesian Nationalism (*Kebangsaan Indonesia*)

Martyn underscored the importance of nationalism in not just the pre-independence women's movement but also the post-colonial movement. She declared that the post-colonial Indonesian women's movement "cannot be understood without appreciating its commitment to nationalism and nationalist projects." Such was particularly relevant in a developing nation, which did not have the resources to change gender relationships. Thus, women needed to work with the state for change.[414] For Indonesian women in the 1950s, attending to gender interests and meeting one's citizenship obligations required attention to national interests. Perwari supported national interests through its acceptance of the first principle of Pancasila—Indonesian nationalism. In his June 1945 speech, Sukarno encouraged a broad view of nationality while proposing a strict implementation of a national state.[415] Sukarno clarified further what was meant by a nation. He viewed it as a people whose common fate had arisen from common character.[416] To Sukarno, the common character and fate of Indonesia was clear. Even a small child could look at a map of the world as see that, from the tip of northern Sumatra to the island of Papua, the archipelago was one whole body determined by God.[417] This was the homeland: one people, one nation, each culture, each island, each tribe was simply a smaller portion of the greater whole.[418] Furthermore, Sukarno notes, this was the historic territory that had been united in the days of the Srivijaya Empire (c.

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[414] Martyn, 209.
[415] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 25.
[416] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 26. He refers to the words of Otto Bauer in the book *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (1907): "Eine Nation ist eine aus Schicksalsgemeinschaft erwachsene Charactergemeinschaft."
[417] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 29.
[418] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 29.

8th-12th centuries C.E.) and again at the time of the Majapahit Empire (c. 13th-16th centuries C.E.).[419] Sukarno insisted that a nation-state of Indonesia must include all the territories that had been united under these premodern empires. This meant bonding thousands of islands and cultures under one national identity.

At the time Sukarno gave this speech, nationalism was not without its critics. Some argued that nationalism was dangerous; it led to chauvinism as had been evidenced in Nazi Germany. But, said Sukarno, nationalism was love for one's homeland, feelings of unity among the people, and having a common language.[420] Benedict Anderson's work on nationalism has confirmed Sukarno's interpretation of nationalism. National print-languages, for instance, united the people of a nation and did not necessarily lead to chauvinism. Sukarno urged, further, that Indonesians must understand that they were just one portion of the entire world rather than using nationalism to claim itself as the noblest or best and thus lower the esteem of other nations. The nation, however, should be united, he claimed. Nationalism was not a matter of proving one's nation superior to another but rather, in the case of Indonesia, imagining a united identity. As Australian scholar of modern Southeast Asia, Damien Kingsbury, stated, "The attempt by Sukarno and other leading nationalists to create and develop a new state…had to rely on an appeal to a common identity."[421] This appeal to common identity constituted the essence of the Indonesian nationalism that Sukarno referred to in his speech on Pancasila and that Perwari implemented in its own goals and activities.

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[419] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 30. Sri Vijaya was an empire established in the seventh century and based on the island of Sumatra but included portions of Java and the Malay peninsula. The Majapahit Empire lasted from the late thirteenth into the sixteenth century and covered most of what is now the nation of Indonesia.
[420] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 33. See also Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).
[421] Damien Kingsbury, *The Politics of Indonesia*, 2nd Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 39.

Perwari united Indonesia under one national identity through mixing a diverse membership of women. One of the explicit goals of Perwari was promoting Indonesian nationalism. The organization declared that the nation of Indonesia was not just the people of Java, or the people of Sumatra, etc. Rather, the nation of Indonesia included Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Borneo, and all the islands of all of Indonesia. Sukarno had proposed an Indonesian identity that included all territory from the northern tip of Sumatra to West Papua and the islands in between. Perwari, too, interpreted Indonesia as the entire archipelago rather than just the island of Java, for instance. Consequently, Perwari explicitly invited all Indonesian women, no matter the island or culture, to join the association because it viewed Indonesia as a unity of one people under one language and one homeland.[422] Indeed, articles in *Suara Perwari* were published in Indonesian rather than in Javanese, Sundanese or any of the local dialects. This perpetuated the goals of the PPI, as discussed in Chapter 2, to unite women. PPI had also used Indonesian as its language of communication. The following illustration (Figure 2) from a 1958 book of remembrance celebrating thirty years of the Indonesian women's movement clarified the role of women in uniting Indonesia as a nation:

[422] Nj. S. Poedjoboentoro, "Sedikit tentang azas dan tudjuan Perwari," *Suara Perwari* 1(8), 2.

Figure 2. "Indonesian women, maintain the unity of your nation." From *Buku Peringatan 30 Tahun Kesatuan Pergerakan Wanita Indonesia, 22 Des 1928-22 Des 1958*.

This illustration portrays women from various islands and cultures, each wearing a traditional costume. While dressed according to their respective cultures, they hold hands to form a united sisterhood. Indonesian nationalism did not require the various island cultures to eliminate their traditions; rather, Indonesian nationalism asked the diverse groups to cooperate for the common good of the new nation.

In addition to incorporating women from the many islands of the archipelago, Perwari also included women of diverse socio-economic classes. The organization sought a people not divided by rich and poor, intelligent or illiterate. As S. Peodjoboentoro, a contributor to *Suara Perwari* explained, "There are only Indonesian women who have

equal rights and obligations to the nation and its people."[423] She did not see women as differentiated by class or tribe. All women had equal rights and citizenship responsibilities in the new republic. Perwari fostered an organization that bonded women of diverse backgrounds and circumstances, seeking to solidify an Indonesian identity that overcame social boundaries. Although exact numbers of Perwari membership are difficult to determine, periodic updates in *Suara Perwari* indicate the success of the organization. For example, by 1953, Perwari had 227 branches spread throughout the archipelago and more than 160,000 members.[424] Although there existed many women's organizations during this time period, Perwari remained one of the few groups that did not base its membership on religious affiliation, political persuasion, or husbands' employment.[425]

When an Indonesian women's congress first established Perwari in December 1945, its primary goal was to support and maintain Indonesian independence. Once independence had been recognized in 1949, Perwari's organizational board clarified its purpose as social education and co-operative economics.[426] Perwari intended to unite women no matter their political affiliation, and its leaders continually maintained that it was not a political organization. For instance, before the election of 1954, a letter from the editor of *Suara Perwari* made clear that Perwari was an independent organization and not tied to a particular political party. She urged Perwari members, however, to participate in the public election so that a stable government might move forward in a

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[423] Nj. S. Poedjoboentoro, "Sedikit tentang azas dan tudjuan Perwari," *Suara Perwari* 1(8), 2-3. "*Jang ada ialah hanja wanita Indonesia jg. mempunjai kedudukan hak dan kewadjiban jang sama terhadap negara dan bangsa*."
[424] Pusat Pimpinan Perwari, "Perwari Sewindu," *Suara Perwari* 4(3), 4.
[425] See Martyn's overview of women's organizations in the 1950s in the Appendix of her book.
[426] Pusat Pimpinan Perwari, "Perwari Sewindu," *Suara Perwari* 4(3), 4.

way that supported the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila.[427] Clearly, Perwari supported political involvement, but its primary goal was not based on a specific party line. Rather, it was intended to "improve the lot of women with tangible efforts in the fields of social education and economics."[428] Unity amongst the women would help them achieve such goals of social progress and justice. Central leaders of Perwari asserted that solid unity would enable this organization to defend and protect women against social inequality. Additionally, such unity would allow women to occupy the same status as men. Consequently, they could work to establish a new society that provided salvation and joy to all women.[429] Perwari used Pancasila to unite Indonesian women in order to promote the advancement of both national and gender interests. As had been the case at the 1928 congress, Indonesian women in the 1950s harnessed nationalism as a means of social development.

Internationlism/Humanism (*Internasionalisme/Peri-Kemanusiaan*)

In addition to nationalism, Sukarno urged Indonesians in his 1945 address on Pancasila to unite under internationalist sentiments. He clarified, however, that such internationalism could be better described as "humanism." Thus, the point of international cooperation was to improve the welfare of all mankind. By "internationalism," Sukarno did not mean what he and his critics might interpret as "cosmopolitanism," which sought to eliminate all peoples and nations and would lead to

[427] Stijah Surya-Hadi, "Surat dari Redaksi," *Suara Perwari* 4(9), (June 1954), 1.
[428] Pusat Pimpinan Perwari, "Perwari Sewindu," *Suara Perwari* 4(3), 4. "memperbaiki nasib wanita dengan usaha jang njata dalam lapangan social pendidikan dan ekonomi."
[429] Pusat Pimpinan Perwari, "Perwari Sewindu," *Suara Perwari* 4(3), 4.

the dissolution of Indonesia.[430] Rather, his version of internationalism flourished amidst nationalism, and nationalism found fertile ground in internationalism. According to Sukarno, this second principle of Pancasila was intimately connected with the first. Nationalism and internationalism worked together as the united nation of Indonesia recognized itself as one of many nations in the world. As Martyn explained, "International activities served to reinforce the objectives and interests of the national movement within Indonesia."[431] Internationalism was, thus, a natural outgrowth of Perwari's commitment to promoting Indonesian nationalism.

Global events nurtured an environment in Indonesia that fostered international cooperation. In particular, the Bandung Conference of 1955 demonstrated Sukarno's commitment to internationalism and provided the opportunity for Indonesia to participate in the creation of a Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) or designation of the Third World, which preferred to align itself with neither the capitalist United States nor the communist Soviet Union. Hosted by Indonesia in the city of Sukarno's nationalist awakening, this conference brought together nationalist revolutionaries and leaders of African and Asian nations including Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam, Gamal Abdel-Nasser of Egypt, Zhou Enlai of China, and others.[432] What these leaders shared was a disdain for colonialism and common problems of war, racism, and poverty. Together, Sukarno and other leaders of Asia and Africa sought national economic development and social progress for their respective nations.[433] The Bandung Conference

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[430] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 34.
[431] Martyn, 168.
[432] Barker, 524. Joshua Barker, "Beyond Bandung: Develpmental Nationalism and (Multi)cultural Nationalism in Indonesia," *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 3, 2008: 521-540.

provided the opportunity for Indonesia and other newly independent nations to assert their independence from colonial powers and to cooperate with each other towards common goals of ending the socio-economic troubles of postcolonialism.

Women's organizations in Indonesia responded to Sukarno's call for internationalism as embodied in the Bandung Conference. In 1956, Kongres Wanita Indonesia (KOWANI) explained the foundation of Indonesian women's international activities: womanhood, humanitarianism, and the principles of the Bandung conference.[434] Additionally, the 1958 Asia-Africa Women's Conference came as an initiative of the 1955 Bandung Conference.[435] Indonesian women's international activism went even further. Martyn's analysis of women's organizations in the 1950s determined four areas of international activity: formal alliances with international organizations or organizations in other nation-states; Indonesian women attending international conferences and touring other states; foreign women visiting Indonesia; and exchange of information through articles in women's journals.[436] She suggests further that this international focus expanded as the decade of the 1950s progressed, with an "explosion" of articles after 1953 that addressed international issues.[437] Perwari was, clearly, part of a larger movement among Indonesian women's groups and other Asian and African nations to strengthen ties between women of the Third World.[438]

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[433] Barker, 525.
[434] Kongres Wanita Indonesia, *Peringatan 30 Tahun Kesatuan Pergerakan Wanita Indonesia* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1958), 52. Cited in Martyn, 163.
[435] Martyn, 158.
[436] Martyn, 154.
[437] Martyn, 157.
[438] Despite its outdated nature, I use this term specifically to identify the non-aligned nations of the Cold War period.

Indonesian women had multiple motivations for strengthening their bonds with women of other nations. To begin with, women's organizations at the time encouraged political solidarity in a global sisterhood in which women of all nations addressed their shared interests. Issues of motherhood and gender were topics that women everywhere could understand.[439] Indonesian women could learn from the experiences of women in Pakistan, India, China, and elsewhere. These countries' common past of falling under colonial rule instigated social ills that women in many African and Asian countries encountered. This, and the fact that they were all women and concerned with issues of motherhood and womanhood promoted a global sisterhood. Additionally, Indonesian women wanted to situate themselves among women of the world, clarifying their identity in the independent state as an actor among the nations. Women's organizations exerted themselves as members of new nation-states that appeared what Martyn describes as "on the world stage as autonomous actors."[440] Promoting Indonesian nationalism required entrance in international affairs, recognizing Indonesia as an equal among nations.

Perwari supported internationalism through its activities. The organization demonstrated its focus on internationalism by including articles in *Suara Perwari* that discussed women's movements around the world and provided reports of conferences Perwari's leaders had attended in other countries. For instance, one article in the December 1953 issue of *Suara Perwari* shared the history of the International Alliance of Women, which had been established in Germany in 1904. As Perwari sought to unify Indonesian women, it also advocated stronger bonds between all women of the world.

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[439] Martyn, 152.
[440] Martyn, 153.

Perwari asked women of all nations to unite by supporting and furthering women's citizenship rights and bringing them to an equal status with men—both outside and inside the home.[441] This was just one example in which Perwari's leaders and members acknowledge the common concerns of women throughout the world and used international relations to advance gender interests.

Many articles in *Suara Perwari* reported on members' discussions with leaders of foreign women's movements. Perwari members looked to the women and events in other nations to provide inspiration for their own nation. It may have been as simple as publishing an article about Home Economics Education in the USA[442] or detailing the progress of women's movements abroad. After delegates from Perwari attended the United Nations Seminar on Civic Rights and Responsibilities and Increased Participation of Asian Women in Public Life in Bangkok in August 1957,[443] they asserted that women in Indonesia had a particular duty compared to their sisters in other Asian countries because Indonesian women experienced the revolution in which women, old and young, fought shoulder to shoulder with men. Indonesia could, therefore, provide an example of greater gender equality and working together with men. Indonesia, too, needed the help of its Asian neighbors. Perwari worried about the lot of women in rural villages of Indonesia and concluded that their sisters from the cities, who were more educated, should help them. They discussed how to help at the seminar in Bangkok, where Perwari representatives sought assistance to organize as many training centers as possible for female leaders in Asia so that they, in turn, might establish training cadres for educating

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[441] Hadidjah S. Soekanto, "Mempertimbangkan Hubungan Internasional," *Suara Perwari* 4(3), 15-16.
[442] See *Suara Perwari* 9(1), (January 1959).
[443] See Table 7.1 in Martyn, 159 in which the author provided examples of a variety of international women's delegations held in the 1950s.

and improving the situation of women in the villages.[444] Such conferences allowed Indonesian women to coordinate efforts with the women of other nations to assist in social development needs that spanned the Asian continent.

Perwari, however, did not wish to imitate the movements of other countries. In fact, some leaders of Perwari argued against accepting help from foreign women's organizations. *Suara Perwari* editor Jetty R'zali Noor argued, "What foreign national could teach us about our organization? Aren't we already experts on it?"[445] The 1957 seminar in Bangkok was, in fact, an opportunity for the women of various Asian nations to help each other. What Noor concluded, however, was that no one knew their organization better than the members and leaders themselves. While looking to other nations for examples and inspiration, the ultimate task was to maintain a truly Indonesian body of women within an international framework. This approach to internationalism aligned with Pancasila's advocation of the reliance of nationalism and internationalism upon each other so that both may flourish.

Consultative Representation (*Permusyawaratan Perwakilan*)

The third principle of Pancasila steered away from concerns of national and international identity and, instead, emphasized methods of governance for the new nation. In his 1945 speech on Pancasila, Sukarno discussed a political structure in which representatives deliberated, discussed, and found agreement amongst each other. He

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[444] Jetty Rizali Noor, "Peranan Wanita Asia dalam Kehidupan Masjarakat," *Suara Perwari* 7(9) (September 1957), 20.
[445] Jetty R'zali Noor, "Antara kita," *Suara Perwari* 7(9), (September 195), 5. "Apa pula seorgang bangsa asing dapat mengadjar kita dalam hal organisasi? Bukankah kita sudah ahli benar dalam hal itu? Fikiran demikian menguasai kita semua pada waktu itu."

stood firmly against monarchy and argued in favor of and "all for all" (*semua buat semua*) political structure. This entailed a representative, governing counsel who would feel a sense of need for progress.[446] Sukarno's critics worried that such a structure would neglect the important role of Islam for most Indonesians. He countered that the people could and would vote for representatives who advocated Islam in such a way that the religion would become more deeply ingrained within their lives.[447] Critics also believed such a form of government would lead to struggle. Yes, it would. But as Sukarno had clarified earlier and continued to maintain, struggle was good for a nation.[448] Thus, it was through a body of representatives who deliberated with each other that Indonesia would succeed as a nation. Upon its declaration of independence, Indonesia's leaders immediately set up a republican government. The parliamentary system that characterized Indonesian government from 1945-1958 aligned with this third principle of Pancasila.

In order to support the need for consultative representation as a means to guide and unite Indonesia, Perwari upheld the Indonesian government structures that aligned with this principle. Furthermore, Perwari supported the parliamentary democracy by educating organization members about the nature of the new republic. Contributors to *Suara Perwari* explained what it meant to be a republic and how such a structure worked. For instance, in 1951 author Rasuna Said used excerpts from the 1945 Indonesian Constitution to explain the differences between a monarchy and a republic. She also

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[446] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 34-35.
[447] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 36.
[448] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 37.

described the characteristics of a totalitarian government.[449] Such information enabled readers to differentiate between types of government and to better understand how the structure of the new Indonesian government was one of a republic that relied on consultative representation. Clearly, Perwari leaders wanted Indonesian women to feel knowledgeable about their new nation and its government. Similarly, teaching members about various political systems in world history helped them comprehend the importance and benefit of Indonesia's method of governance. Members could see that Sukarno's advocation of a consultative representation was better suited to Indonesia and more beneficial to its population than a monarchy or totalitarian government, for instance.

Other than such examples, Perwari did not aggressively advocate the principles of consultative representation in its publications, but the structure of the organization's leadership did exemplify the ideas included in this principle of Pancasila. Perwari stated this the organization was for the benefit of all its members, not just a select few leaders. Additionally, members or representatives made all Perwari decisions. Leaders were not enabled to act without the support of the majority of members agreeing to such actions. Through such boundaries, one leader or a few influential people did not determine the strength of the association; rather, its strength came from the members themselves.[450] Such a structure also supported Pancasila's advocation of the equality of mankind. One of Perwari's organizational goals clarified this: "There is no difference between one human and the other within this world. They are worthy to live as humans, men as well as

[449] Nj. Rasuna Said, "Bentuk dan Susunan Negara," *Suara Perwari*, 1(8).
[450] Nj. S. Poedjoboentoro, "Sedikit tentang azas dan tudjuan Perwari" *Suara Perwari*, 1(8), 2-3.

women, white as well as colored."[451] That meant the Perwari recognized the needs, contributions, and value of every nation and its people. Furthermore, Perwari did not wish to sever ties with women of other nations nor did it seek to transgress any of the rights of humankind. Its internationalism created a foundation of equality between women that enabled Perwari to support Pancasila's commitment to deliberation in representative bodies to ensure the equality and prosperity of all.

Social Welfare (*Kesejahteraan Sosial*)

Sukarno and the leaders of Perwari both hoped that Indonesia's new government would end the socio-economic problems of the colonial era and war years. Women in the nationalist movement had believed that independence would bring an end to inequality and poverty. Perhaps a consultative representation would adequately address the people's needs. Such a belief corresponded to the fourth principle of Pancasila, which advocated for social justice or the improvement of Indonesians' welfare. Sukarno's ideas of social justice meant the following: "There will be no poverty within independent Indonesia."[452] This bold ambition in his 1945 speech on Pancasila, however, proved impossible to accomplish. Some believed that it was a democratic government such as that of the United States that would best ensure the end to poverty, but Sukarno used the examples of European nations and the United States to prove that poverty still existed amidst political democracy.[453] What he argued, in addition to political democracy, was economic

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[451] Nj. S. Poedjoboentoro, "Sedikit tentang azas dan tudjuan Perwari" *Suara Perwari*, 1(8), 3. "tidak ada perbedaan antara manusia jang satu degnan lainnja didalam dunia ini. Mereka mempunjai had hidup jang lajak sebagai manusia, baik dia laki2, maupun wanita, baik berkulit putih maupun berwarna."
[452] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 37. "Tidak akan ada kemiskinan didalam Indonesia Merdeka."
[453] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 38.

democracy. Indonesia should not follow the democratic examples of the West; rather, Indonesia needed a form of democracy that was capable of ensuring social justice in addition to political justice.[454] Social, economic, and political justice must form the basis of Indonesian democratic government, he concluded. Consultative representation was not enough; what the people needed most was economic relief.

Perwari sought strategies to cooperate with the new government in not only solidifying the nation's new identity but also improving conditions for its people. Martyn explains that Perwari considered the post-revolution era one of development in line with the government's program.[455] Thus, Perwari leaders and members worked with the new Indonesian government in enacting policies of social development. The decade was characterized by economic and social turmoil, and as has been common throughout history, women experienced the brunt of such ills. Martyn explained this by summarizing Perwari's perspective, "In their roles as mothers and household managers, women in particular suffered from the inflationary economic climate, food shortages, poor health, lack of educational resources, absence of child care and inadequate social welfare provision."[456] Thus, women were in a particular position of hardship, and Pancasila's commitment to social well-being would address the pressing and immediate needs many Indonesian women felt.

Although Sukarno had advocated state responsibility to remedy economic suffering, the new republic did not have sufficient resources to meet the country's needs. Women's organizations realized this and that their contributions were essential to

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[454] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 39-40.
[455] Martyn, 79. Taken from "Sambutan Ketua Baru," *Suara Perwari* 1(4): 1.
[456] Martyn, 79.

addressing welfare concerns. Women's organizations worked hand-in-hand with the government, resulting in what Martyn explained as "a blurring of lines between services provided by the state and by women's organizations."[457] Furthermore, it seemed that women's work remained in the social rather than political sphere. Saskia Wieringa described the relationship between women's role as mothers and their involvement in politics. She noted that before the revolution, women needed to play a part in politics in order to be good mothers and wives in their families but, even more, to the people and nation of Indonesia. Wieringa continues by explaining that after revolution and the elimination of a common enemy,"men claimed the field of politics as their own, leaving the social terrain to women."[458] Women's organizations had actively served in the social terrain since the colonial period. My work on housewife organizations has demonstrated that women working alongside the state in social development projects was common practice for both Dutch and Indonesian women of the archipelago throughout the twentieth century. There reasons for actively supporting social welfare, however, may have differed according to national trends.

In 1953, author Mrs. Adysusanto clarified the relationship between Perwari and social welfare while explaining women's organizations' longtime devotion to the principle of social justice. In commemorating twenty-five years since the First Indonesian Women's Congress, she explained that the women's congress was about social issues—not just about women. Women's congresses addressed national concerns that included politics, the law, and economics. Women, therefore, needed to fight along with men in

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[457] Martyn, 88.
[458] Saskia Wieringa, *Sexual Politics in Indonesia* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 99.

both nationalist and humanitarian causes. Only through cooperation between men and women would Indonesian develop a strong people. Adyususanto encouraged women to remain firm and optimistic in their continued struggle to achieve equality while promoting social justice.[459] Even before the birth of Pancasila in 1945, women's organizations had devoted their energies to educational and humanitarian pursuits. The identification of this goal through Pancasila only served to solidify the attitudes women's organizations had fostered for decades before.

As had been the case in earlier decades of the women's movement, women's organizations of the 1950s such as Perwari were particularly concerned about women in the villages. A 1951 *Suara Perwari* article about how to effectively lead women's organizations provided the following advice to its rural women: have courage to be responsibile for improvement; foster unity among administrators; forgive each other for offenses, help each other, trust each other; be firm and decisive; consciously associate with each other regularly; do not interrupt each other; and refrain from a dictatorial nature in favor of one offering guidance.[460] These directives may not have been unique to rural women's organizations, but Perwari considered the rural women's movement less advanced in its organizational techniques than those of organizations in the cities. These suggestions intended to improve the workings of women's organizations throughout Indonesia, which Perwari leaders hoped would enable social justice to penetrate the republic's smallest villages. Furthermore, Perwari hoped to improve living conditions in the villages, and its primary method of doing so was through instruction in home

[459] Nj. Adyususanto, "Seperempat Abad Bergerak," *Suara Perwari* 4(3): 5-6.
[460] A.M. Pasuruan, "Sekedar tentang sjarat mengemudi organisasi Wanita," *Suara Perwari* 1(8): 10.

economics.[461] Home economics centered on all aspects of family life and the household, including but not limited to food and clothing, raising and educating children, family finances, individual and family relationship development, health and cleanliness, and general improvement of home and society.[462] Dutch women in the Ethical Policy era had also concerned themselves with such topics and sought to "uplift" their Indonesian sisters through home economics education. In the 1950s, Indonesian women, in turn, taught each other practices that would improve national well-being from within the household. This interest in home economics education was neither new nor unique to Indonesia. Other Asian countries such as Japan, India, and the Philippines had already benefited from the work of home economists, who worked in conjunction with the government to develop village society.[463] What Perwari proposed for village women had already been practiced in other Asian nations, which provided an example for Indonesia to follow as it strove to develop rural society.

As it promoted gender equality and social justice, Perwari advocated for the role of women in the care of the home. Of particular interest to Perwari in 1957 was the Home Economics Seminar, which had begun in Bogor. This seminar provided the basis of Family Welfare Education (*Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or PKK), which will be discussed further in the following chapters. In its own work in the 1950s, Perwari reaffirmed the obligation of women to care for their homes and the value of receiving proper education to do so. Their interests seem reminiscent of the concerns of Dutch

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[461] Nj. Mr. Nani Soewondo, "Faktor2 jang mempengaruhi peranan wanita dalam Kihidupan Masjarakat," *Suara Perwari* 7(9), (September 1957): 10.
[462] Nj. Mr. Nani Soewondo, "Faktor2 jang mempengaruhi peranan wanita dalam Kihidupan Masjarakat," *Suara Perwari* 7(9), (September 1957): 10.
[463] Nj. Mr. Nani Soewondo, "Faktor2 jang mempengaruhi peranan wanita dalam Kihidupan Masjarakat," *Suara Perwari* 7(9), (September 1957): 10.

housewives in the 1930s as they viewed effective family and household management as the key to social development of the nation. In the case of Perwari in the 1950s, however, women's role within the home provided an addition to their responsibilities to the nation. The author of "Factors that Influence Women's Role in Social Life" stated the following: "Women should be encouraged to care for their households in such a way that there is spare time to work outside the home. It needs to be stressed that caring properly for the household and family is included as the most important responsibility, but remember the responsibility to society, in which it should be coupled with other work outside the home."[464] This admonition confirmed the necessity of effective household management. Whereas Dutch housewives in the 1930s had advocated such as a means of uplifting the population, Perwari considered home economics education important in providing women with the time and energy to work outside the home. If housewives could practice greater efficiency in the care of their homes, they would have greater means to serve their nation through outside employment.

In the case of Perwari in the 1950s, the organization actively supported social justice and the well-being of all people as an element of Pancasila. Perwari described its objective regarding social justice as a way to ensure salvation and humanity among Indonesian society. Likewise, bringing justice to all tied intimately into Perwari's quest to improve the situation of women. The organization's goals stated, "Perwari is a women's organization intended to improve the quality of life for Indonesian women [and to]

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[464] Nj. Mr. Nani Soewondo, "Faktor2 jang mempengaruhi peranan wanita dalam Kihidupan Masjarakat," *Suara Perwari* 7(9), (September 1957): 10. "Kepada kaum wanita hendaknja diandjurkan supaja mengurus rumah tangga sedemikian, hingga ada waktu terluang untuk pekerdjaan diluar rumah tangga. Perlu ditekankan, bahwa mengurus rumah tangga dan keluarga dengan se-baik2nja adalah termasuk kewadjiban jang paling penting, tetapi mengingat kewadjiban terhadap masjarakat, hendaknja digabungkan dengan pekerdjaan2 jang lain diluar rumah tangga"

improve the destiny of Indonesian women," which it felt was far from satisfactory. Pancasila enabled women to unite with each other and organize Perwari as a tool for fighting for the benefit of all women.[465] Women's rights were human rights, the association asserted. As such, they demanded greater equality in the home between men and women.[466] *Suara Perwari* motivated women to believe they could achieve such equality and rights by including pictures of women as civil servants, doctors, artists, professors, and more. Social justice for women remained the heart of Perwari.

Justice for Women Through Marriage Reform

The Indonesian women's movement had struggled since the colonial era for greater social justice through marriage reform laws. The Dutch, too, had been concerned about certain practices such as child marriage and polygamy, but Indonesian women's organizations had rejected Dutch proposals for marriage reform because they were commited to the nationalist movement and, therefore, unwilling to deal with colonial administration. Women assumed their interests would be recognized upon independence.[467] Independence, however, did not bring the anticipated reforms. Perwari was particularly concerned about marriage reform in the 1950s because the decade witnessed a peak in divorces and incidences of polygamy.[468] Organization leaders, therefore, urged parliament to take action to remedy the marital complications that remained in Indonesian society even after independence including forced marriage, polygamy, and arbitrary divorce. In the post-colonial period, marriage reform remained

[465] Nj. S. Poedjoboentoro, "Sedikit tentang azas dan tudjuan Perwari," *Suara Perwari* 1(8): 3.
[466] "Perwari dan soal perkawinan," *Suara Perwari*, 1(8).
[467] Martyn, 125.
[468] Martyn, 124.

the primary issue for which women's organizations agitated. It seemed that marriage reform was the only issue in which women' interests did not align with state programs. Education, socio-economic development, health, and citizenship responsibilities all supported state programs. The call for marriage reform, however, did not conform with the priorities of Indonesia's political leadership.[469]

The government, in fact, took measures that aggravated women's struggle for reform. In 1952 it passed a law known as PP 19, which provided pensions to all widows of civil servants rather than just one pension to widows.[470] This conflicted with women's hopes to discourage polygamy in the country. The situation worsened in 1954 when Sukarno took on a second wife, Hartini. His first wife, Fatmawati, separated herself from him. Perwari vocally opposed Sukarno's polygamous marriage, and his relationships with the women's movement became strained after this.[471] Perwari led demonstrations and petitions in support of a marriage code that prohibited polygamy, regulated marriageable age, and provided equal divorce provisions.[472] Yet Perwari's acts proved risky in the new republic. The organization weakened after Sukarno's marriage to Hartini as other groups viewed Perwari as "so 'radical' to dare to resist the President."[473] Perwari had opposed Sukarno's marriage because they believed that he, a national hero and head of state, set a bad example in marrying a second wife. It seemed marriage reform would not happen under Sukarno's administration.[474] Only at the end of the 1950s did a bill granting marriage reform (Sumari Bill) make it to parliament. This bill, however, awaited

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[469] Martyn, 74.
[470] Martyn, 133.
[471] Wieringa, *Sexual Politics*, 116.
[472] Martyn, 126.
[473] Wieringa, *Sexual Politics*, 121.
[474] Martyn, 135.

parliamentary discussion when Sukarno reshuffled his cabinet, dissolved parliament, and declared a new program of Guided Democracy in 1959.[475] Perwari's commitment to social justice would not result in the marriage reforms that the organization considered so vital to Indonesian women's welfare. Martyn concluded, "The 1950s campaign for marriage law suggests that democracy and independence did not fulfil women's strategic gender interests….It is clear that women's commitment to nationalism and national interests was not rewarded with positive legal change during independence."[476] It seemed the government would welcome women's cooperation in the work of developing the nation as long as they did not push for additional rights.

Devotion to Almighty God (*Ketuhanan*)

The final principle of Sukarno's earliest version of Pancasila advocated belief in and devotion to God. He did not promote an official state religion, but he proposed that all Indonesians should believe in God and be religious according to their respective cultures.[477] Such an approach to the worship of God would allow the people to respect each other while remaining secure in their own cultures and beliefs. Although Perwari did not discuss religious traditions or debates in its magazine, it nevertheless supported this aspect of Pancasila through its stated goals. Perwari officially acknowledged the existence of a god who was ominipotent, just, and almighty. Because of this, the organization encouraged members to embrace their religion, whatever it may be: Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, or other. Different religions were not a concern of Perwari, and

[475] Martyn, 143; Blackburn 130.
[476] Martyn, 144-45.
[477] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 41-42.

rather than promoting specific religions, it enouraged its members to honor their own religion. Furthermore, Perwari declared that religion was the responsibility of each individual member.[478] Perwari addressed the topic of religion in the manner in which Sukarno had advocated its acceptance as an individual responsibility that should be undertaken by all Indonesians according to their respective religious traditions.

Mutual Cooperation (*Gotong-Royong*)

While Pancasila promoted five distinct principles as the basis for national unity and ideology, Sukarno proposed that one principle could guide all others among the people. This was the principle commonly referred to as "*gotong-royong*" or mutual cooperation. Sukarno believed that this "all for all" or "all for one, one for all" approach to politics, society, and the economy was meant to ensure social democracy, nationalism, and religious devotion.[479] Widespread implementation of *gotong-royong* could secure all five principles of Pancasila. Sukarno concluded that *gotong-royong* was appropriate for Indonesian society because it was more dynamic than kinship, which Sukarno viewed as static. Furthermore, *gotong-royong* demonstrated unity in effort, in charity, and in work.[480] It promoted a spirit of helping each other and struggling together. This corresponded with both Sukarno's and Perwari's commitment to fighting for national unity and social well-being.

Women's organizations has emphasized principles of mutual cooperation since the colonial period. But Dutch and Indonesian women had proven that they were

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[478] Nj. S. Poedjoboentoro, "Sedikit tentang azas dan tudjuan Perwari," *Suara Perwari* 1(8): 2.
[479] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 44.
[480] Sukarno, "*Lahirnja*," 45. "Satu usaha, satu amat, satu pekerdjaan."

commitment to supporting national welfare even if it required sacrificing their own rights. They understood that it was women's organizations that had the particular responsibility to improve social conditions. The trend continued in the post-colonial era. For instance, the more educated women of Perwari provided examples for the less educated women and had the duty to assist them. Perwari members believed that such cooperation between women would help perfect society.[481] Furthermore, the very existence of Perwari supported *gotong-royong* as it enabled women to cooperate with each other to benefit their nation. Again, women's organizations proved a source of empowerment that promoted women's active contributions to social well-being as members contributed to the solidification and development of the nation of Indonesia.

Conclusion

Perwari provided a unified organization that targeted all Indonesian women as possible members. This organization's stated goals centered on Pancasila, as Sukarno had articulated the five principles as the basis for Indonesian unity and progress. While Perwari refrained from political affiliation, it nevertheless promoted state ideologies that benefited its members and fostered the development of Indonesian society. Additionally, Perwari assisted the nation in taking its place as an equal among the nations of the world and in cooperating with other non-aligned countries of Asia. In the 1950s, Perwari help solidify Indonesian independence and national identity through its nation-building activities. Additionally, Perwari continued social welfare initiatives that had been

[481] Nj. Mr. Nani Soewondo, "Faktor2 jang mempengaruhi peranan wanita dalam Kihidupan Masjarakat," *Suara Perwari* 7(9), (September 1957): 11.

common to women's organizations since the colonial period. Through its commitment to advancing women's rights to marriage reform as well as reminding women of their citizenship obligations, Perwari exemplified the principles of *gotong-royong*, which encouraged mutual cooperation between Indonesians. Perwari leaders and members proved themselves to be "fighting women" just as they claimed to be. As housewives, mothers, and citizens Indonesian women recognized the distinct links between their work in the home and the progress of the nation. Perwari's work continued that of its predecessors at the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress by advocating social improvements in combination with expanding women's rights. Just as important as their rights, however, were their obligations. Women of Perwari took their citizenship responsibilities seriously in ways that allowed Sukarno's vision of a united Indonesia to come to fruition.

Perwari's work, however, was not rewarded with either marriage reform or the economic prosperity promised by Sukarno in his 1945 introduction of Pancasila. It seemed that, in contrast to what Sukarno stated in his book *Sarinah* and noted under the title of this chapter, "Society's concerns were women's concerns" rather than the other way around. In the latter years of the 1950s, Indonesia's government transitioned from a parliamentary democracy to one of authoritarian rule. In March 1957, Sukarno followed the counsel of the army and set up martial law in order to counter what they perceived as threats to national unity.[482] Also, from 1957-58, Sukarno nationalized Dutch businesses. This action came in reponse to failure to settle the issue of Dutch New Guinea (West Papua) with the Netherlands. Consequently, Sukarno sought an end to Dutch "economic

[482] Schwarz, 15.

imperialism." The nationalization of Dutch and other Western businesses in Indonesia halted foreign investment and led to the economy, which was already burdened by debt, experiencing even greater economic crisis.[483] In the 1950s, Sukarno's efforts at development of Indonesia aimed at economic independence based on political independence.[484] His motto for national development had been "standing on one's own two feet" (*berdiri di atas kaki sendiri*). Thus, the goal was a unified national economy that dependend only very little on other countries.[485] According to Damien Kingsbury, this proved detrimental to Sukarno's ability to adequately govern Indonesia. He concluded, "Of all the events of the 1950s, perhaps the most important and far-reaching in its consequences was the effective nationalization of Dutch property in 1957, which was formalized in 1958."[486] This action may have solidified Indonesian national identity as being non-Dutch, but it also destroyed the economy and proved that Sukarno's version of Pancasila would not relieve the new nation's social and economic difficulties.

[483] Kingsbury, 42.
[484] Barker, 527.
[485] Barker, 527.
[486] Kingsbury, 42.

CHAPTER 6: GUIDING DEMOCRATIC HOUSEWIVES, 1959-1965

"We believe that our Government toils to overcome every difficulty of today. We expect that their actions can successfully strengthen the Home Front, by eliminating the anxiety faced by the people at large, the housewife in particular, because of the trouble with basic goods"
(From "Antara Kita," *Trisula*, January 1962).[487]

The great risk of revolution is that perhaps circumstances will be worse after independence than they had been under colonial rule. The women's movement of the 1950s demonstrated that even as civic organizations cooperated with the government, the population's needs remained unmet. Sukarno had advocated independence as a means to relieve the domestic troubles of poverty and exploitation. By the end of the 1950s, however, women in Indonesia still yearned for an end to their families' economic woes. Independence had not brought what it had promised in the manner and speed in which some Indonesians had anticipated. True, the nation was politically united and had gained full sovereignty from the Netherlands. Yet social, economic, and political problems persisted. Historian Anthony Reid assessed the circumstances of post-revolution Indonesia as follows: "What then was the fruit of the revolution? It destroyed a colonial polity controlled from the other side of the world….It did not, however, succeed in

[487] Editor. "Antara Kita," *Trisula*, 12(1), (January 1962), 5. "Kami pertjaya bahwa Pemerintah kita membanting tulang untuk menghadapi segala kesulitan dewasa ini. Kami mengharapkan supaja tindakan2 mereka dapat berhasil memperkuat Home Front (garis belakang), dengan menghilangkan kegelisahan jang dihadapi oleh rakjat pada umumnja, kaum ibu rumah tangga pada chususnja, karena kesulitan bahan-bahan pokok."

dynamizing the peasant majority of Indonesia's population, or substantially improving their lot."[488] The above statement offered by the editors of *Trisula*, Perwari's monthly magazine after 1959, expressed the faith that women's organizations in the early 1960s still held in their new government. As before, Perwari believed in the government's ability to meet the people's basic needs in an environment that proved unstable and inadequate.

Indonesia after revolution was marked with "drift and uncertainty" in that compromise with the Dutch had postponed any "final reckoning" among the feuding political and religious forces in Indonesia that vied for state power.[489] This left Indonesia split into factions and regional conflict. The number of political parties had increased by 1955, and the biggest four parties (PNI, *Masyumi*, NU and PKI) found only stalemate. Elections seemed to be a means to draw battlelines rather than resolve the nation's concerns. Likewise, politics remained regionally and ethnically divided as Javanese conflicted with Sundanese, and Indonesians clashed with their Chinese fellow countrymen.[490] The nation was falling apart, as noted at the end of the previous chapter, leading Sukarno to declare martial law in March 1957.[491] He created a new cabinet the following month and a National Council in May.[492] As the new government continued, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) gained greater support. Sukarno aligned himself more and more with PKI rather than the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI) he had helped establish. Meanwhile, the army garnered greater strength, and one's involvement in

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[488] Anthony Reid, *The Indonesian National Revolution, 1945-1950* (Hawthorn, Vic: Longman, 1974), 171.
[489] Reid, 171.
[490] M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c. 1200*, 4th Edition (Stanford, CA: Standford University Press, 2008), 287-289.
[491] Ricklefs, 292.
[492] Ricklefs, 295-6.

politics became a matter of influence and access to either Sukarno or the army.[493] In foreign affairs, Sukarno insisted on a settlement with the Dutch over New Guinea (West Papua), a territory the Dutch still claimed. This prompted Sukarno to nationalize Dutch and other Western enterprises from 1957-1958. Within this context of political chaos, Sukarno formulated the concept of Guided Democracy.

Again, on March 14, 1959, Sukarno declared martial law. This laid the groundwork for the military's "dual function" (*dwifungsi*) to both protect and help run the state.[494] Not surprisingly, the army put its support behind Sukarno's moves.[495] Sukarno established a new government structure and guiding philosophies to take control of the unsteady nation in his Indonesian Independence Day speech on August 17, 1959. Known as the Political Manifesto (*Manipol*), this speech became the basis of Guided Democracy (1959-1964). It outlined government priorities of food and clothing for the people, Indonesia's continued struggle against imperialism, the need for greater internal security, and Sukarno's long-term goals of a "just and prosperous" (*adil dan makmur*) society.[496] "Just and prosperous" became the catchphrase of Guided Democracy, indicating the vision for which all other actions occurred. What differentiated Guided Democracy from the parliamentary period of the 1950s was that Guided Democracy brought authoritarian rule to Indonesia under Sukarno's leadership. Adam Schwarz explained that Guided Democracy was reminiscent of Javanese feudalism rather than democratic government because of its emphasis on the "Guider," being Sukarno. Through Guided Democracy,

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[493] Ricklefs, 304.
[494] Damien Kingsbury, *The Politics of Indonesia*, 2nd Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 43.
[495] Adam Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia's Search for Stability* (Oxford: Westview Press, 2000), 15.
[496] Saskia Wieringa, *Sexual Politics in Indonesia* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 103.

Sukarno strengthened his own position as the country's executive and fought to keep his political opponents at bay.[497] What Sukarno hoped to achieve through Guided Democracy was greater national unity—an end to the factionalism, regionalism, and political opposition the country faced in the post-revolution years.

Sukarno proposed the solution for greater national unity could be found in a combination of nationalism, Islam, and socialism. Under Guided Democracy, this ideology became known as Nasakom (*Nasionalism*, *Agama*, and *Komunism* or Nationalism, Religion, and Communism).[498] Rather than emphasizing the five principles of Pancasila, Sukarno focused specifically on these three elements because they would appease the leading factions in the country—the army, Islamic groups, and the PKI. He hoped that through Nasakom and his own guidance as President, factionalism and regional conflict would end.

Sukarno appealed to other philosophies to unite the people. The basic objective behind Guided Democracy was to return to the 1945 Constitution, from which the government had strayed. Sukarno stated, "The 1945 Constitution is the genuine reflection of the identity of the Indonesian nation." He believed that returning to the 1945 constitution (rather than the 1950 constitution) would ensure Indonesian government was truly Indonesian, going back to its Javanese roots. Thinking of the traditional village systems of represenation and deliberation, Sukarno stated that since ancient times, Indonesians had "based their system of Government on [deliberation] and [agreement] with the leadership of one central authority in the hands of a "sesepuh"—an elder—who

[497] Schwarz, 16-17.
[498] Wieringa, 106.

did not dictate, but led and protected. Indonesian democracy since ancient times has been Guided Democracy, and this is characteristic of all original democracies in Asia."[499] This had been a principle of Pancasila, and Sukarno confirmed it through Guided Democracy. The practical difference, however, was that Sukarno placed himself as the leader of the democracy.

Guided Democracy significantly changed the women's movement in Indonesia. Susan Blackburn explained, "Women had little opportunity to voice their concerns to the state, which, in turn, showed little interest in considering their needs."[500] The promises Sukarno seemed to have made to women during the National Revolution deteriorated as Guided Democracy sought to end the people's complaints. Saskia Wieringa also elaborated on the affect of Guided Democracy in the women's movement as in noting that once independence had been achieved, the gap between political parties and the women's movement widened, gender relations were redefined, and men reconfirmed their domination of politics. As discussed in the previous chapter, the marriage reform law also remain unresolved. While the 1950s had allowed women's organizations to flourish, the years of Guided Democracy confirmed that women's efforts would not be rewarded with state recognition of their demands or interests. Perwari, however, proved its allegiance to this new system of governance and integrated programs into its organization that supported Guided Democracy.

Perwari as an organization acknowledged the problems of the late 1950s and the disharmony that resulted in the nation and among its members. As Guided Democracy lit

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[499] Sukarno, *Indonesia's Political Manifesto: 1959-1964* (Jakarta: Prapantja, 1959), 59.
[500] Susan Blackburn, *Women and the State in Modern Indonesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 24.

the way to a new approach to democratic government, Perwari also implemented measures that would foster change and revitalize the "Spirit of '45" as Sukarno had urged. In January 1959, the name of Perwari's monthly magazine changed from *Suara Perwari* to *Trisula*. This trisula, as discussed in the previous chapter, had been the organization's symbol since its earliest years. The turmoil of 1957-1959 encouraged women's organizations to recommit to the fight for Indonesian nationalism. The magazine's title change indicated that Perwari's leaders and the editors of its magazine felt the need to renew the energy of Perwari and explained that the trisula was a symbol of "purity, honesty, and courage."[501] The preceding years had brought struggles that threatened the unity of the organization and harmony within Indonesia. Consequently, Perwari reignited its spirit of struggle and asked women to once again, "Fight for the progress of Indonesian women, who surely will carry the welfare of the Indonesian family, meaning the progress of the entire homeland and people!"[502] Perwari sensed the need to reconfirm its objectives in ways that paralleled state actions.

Perwari Continues the Spirit and Struggle of 1945

Saskia Wieringa referred to Sukarno's "myth of permanent struggle" that he used to create unity in Indonesia.[503] This idea of permanent struggle was what Sukarno meant in his call for a rebirth of the Spirit of the 1945 Revolution. Sukarno knew this meant

[501] Jetty Rizali Noor, "Antara Kita," *Trisula* 9(1), (January 1959).
[502] Jetty Rizali Noor, "Antara Kita," *Trisula* 9(1), (January 1959). "Berjoang untuk kemadjuan wanita Indonesia, jang pasti akan membawa kesedjahteraan keluarga Indonesia, berarti kemadjuan nusa dan bangsa seluruhnja!"
[503] Wieringa, 98.

struggle and sacrifice,[504] characteristics he had advocated since his June 1945 speech regarding Pancasila. Sukarno believed it was fortunate, however, that Indonesian workers and farmers provided the pillar of society because their sweat along with the nation's armed forces would be the basic strength of a just and prosperous society.[505] Guided Democracy reminded Indonesians of the necessity to work hard and work together for the new nation. Perwari's fighting women had been engaging in this permanent struggle since 1945 and would continue to do so.

Perwari, by its very nature, adhered to the Spirit of 1945. As discussed in the previous chapter, Pancasila provided the foundation for the organization's goals and activities. The organization had been established just four months after Indonesia proclaimed independence, and within this context of revolution, Perwari united women ready to fight. At the commemoration of its seventeenth anniversary, one of Perwari's leaders, J.R. Noor, explained that completing the revolution was not just about knowing one's rights; more important was understanding one's obligations in completing the revolution.[506] As in the 1950s, Perwari in the early 1960s focused on women's obligations as citizens of Indonesia and knew that citizenship required work. Perwari specifically addressed Sukarno's words regarding the Spirit of 1945. In an article in *Trisula* in April 1959 titled "Return to the Spirit of the Struggle of 1945,"[507] the author exhorted Indonesian women to rise again and unite in the spirit of the proclamation of August 1945. The author recognized the potential of society if it could be developed as

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[504] Sukarno, 15. Pages 11-23 of this work constitute a summary by an unknown author discussing the basics of the Political Manifesto, which is included afterwards in the book.
[505] Sukarno, 15.
[506] Dr. J.R. Noor, "Pidato Peringatan 17 Tahun Perwari," *Trisula* 12(10-12), (Oct-Dec 1962), 6-7, 9-10.
[507] Sekar, "Kembali ke Semangat perdjoangan 1945" *Trisula* 9(4), (April 1959), 8-9.

the nation's leaders believed it could. This meant that Perwari members should cooperate with Sukarno's guidance, trusting he understood the nation's potential and how to achieve it. Having the spirit of the fight of 1945 and being progressive and revolutionary kept Perwari's functions clear and beneficial to all of Indonesian society.

Perwari continued its explicit support of Guided Democracy. In the April and May 1961 issues of *Trisula*, editors reported on the progress of the revolution within the context of Guided Democracy.[508] The intent of these reports was not necessarly to persuade readers to support a certain political agenda, but to inform readers regarding the political environment of the time. The author referred to the year 1959, in which the people of Indonesia reignited their revolution, which was explained through Sukarno's Political Manifesto of the same year. Additionally, the revolution could be considered part of a world revolution to end imperialism, to develop the nation, and to provide food, clothing, and security. The author believed, along with Sukarno, that such endeavors would lead to a just and prosperous society. Also essential to reigniting the revolution was *gotong-royong* (mutual cooperation). The article proposed that *gotong-royong* was just as important now in a fight against imperialism and capitalism as it had been in former years. Thus, being loyal to the revolution meant being loyal to *gotong-royong* as well. Through *gotong-royong*, the nation's people could overcome all their hardships.[509] *Gotong-royong* provided a bridge between the principles of the 1945 revolution and the great necessity of developing a prosperous Indonesia in the early 1960s.

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[508] "Perintjian 'Djalannja Revolusi Kita" *Trisula*, 11(4), (April 1961), 11-14. See also the same title in *Trisula* 11(5), (May 1961), 8-9.
[509] Ibid., 13.

The nature and spirit of society continued the revolution. In an article in *Trisula* in August 1961,[510] Perwari leaders clarified aspects of Indonesian society that promoted the success of the revolution. They called for a society that was willing and able to honor the nation's sovereignty (likely referring to the debate over West Papua). Independence also included the entire people and could not discriminate between groups. The author proposed that a free society was also just and prosperous, and it was through Pancasila that Indonesia would become such. In contrast to these virtues, corruption permeated the atmosphere in Indonesia. The author urged readers to abandon corruption, mismanagement, and the atmosphere of sickness caused by fear, cynicism, and apathy. Clearly, Perwari sensed the chaos inherent to the time period and saw Guided Democracy as a method of remedying this upheavel. The article continued in stating that being more aware of the meaning of independence would allow Indonesians to continue on the quest to be "just and prosperous." In this way, Perwari linked its work of the 1950s in supporting Pancasila to the goals of Guided Democracy that reignited the Spirit of 1945 while transitioning Indonesia to a "just and prosperous" society.

Perwari's very existence supported the Spirit of the 1945 revolution. These were "fighting women" who had combined their efforts in the cause of national independence. Perwari reminded women of the history of the nationalist movement and what they had committed to decades prior. S. Kartowijono discussed the relationship between the the earliest years of the nationalist movement and women of the early 1960s.[511] She said that as "fighting women" who sought to complete the revolution, they needed to be

[510] Moh. Said, "Arti Kemerdekaan," *Trisula* 11(8), (August 1961), 6-7.
[511] S. Kartowijono, "Hari Kebangkitan Nasional dan Wanita," *Trisula* 12(4-5), (April/May 1962), 6.

courageous and recognize the realities that may require them to make sacrifices each day. Rather than identifying specific hardships and dwelling on their remedies, Kartowijono focused on how Perwari members could adjust their attitudes. She seemed more concerned with women's complaints than with the problems causing such complaints. She knew that every people that struggled experienced problems with food and clothing. What Indonesian women were experiencing was not unique in world history. She asked her readers, "Didn't we swear on August 17, 1945 that we were willing and able to sacrifice for the nation's independence?"[512] If so, why were women complaining if there were a few hardships? The author encouraged readers, rather than to look at the lives of the wealthy, to remember those less fortunate than themselves. Perwari's women had agreed to live simple lives, and it seemed the nation asked them to volunteer their efforts to the cause of a continuing revolution. Sukarno convinced them that the Spirit of 1945 would address the problems of the early 1960s. It seemed that women's other needs such as food and medicine became subservient to the good of the nation. Such sacrifice and devotion, however, required patience.

Perwari's Builds a "Just and Prosperous" Society

Sukarno was not ignorant of women's suffering when he began the policy of Guided Democracy. He had emphasized since the beginning of the nationalist movement that independence would remedy social ills. Both an end to exploitation and the implementation of socialism, he believed, would end poverty and build a "just and

[512] "Bukankah kita bersumpah pada tanggal 17 Agustus 1945 bahwa kita sanggup dan sedia berkorban untuk kemerdekaan Negara?"

prosperous" Indonesia. In his Political Manifesto of 1959, Sukarno confirmed his earlier attitudes regarding socialism:

> "As a nation we cannot build a society which is fully modern and just, if the People are not provided with the minimum food and the minimum clothing. It is not possible, it cannot be that a new society of that kind can be built up if the People who have to build it up have no cloth to cover their bodies, if they cannot shelter when necessary from rain and the heat of the sun, if their stomachs rumble because there is no rice to fill them."[513]

Sukarno knew that the people's immediate needs and ability to even survive depended on the availability and effective distribution of basic necessities. People would not have the energy or time to support political initiatives if they remained in bondage to the pursuit of daily subsistence. Sukarno reconfirmed what he had declared in "Achieving Indonesian Independence" in 1933; namely, Indonesians fought not just for ideals but because they wanted enough food, enough land, enough education, etc.[514] Sukarno's intention was to establish a "just and prosperous" society. This goal centered on the implementation of socialism.

Sukarno did not wish, however, to imitate the socialism found in other nations such as the Soviet Union. He clarified in his speech that he supported neither bourgeois revolution nor protelarian revolution, capitalism nor feudalism. What he urged for Indonesians was "Socialism â la Indonesia,"[515] or a form of socialism tailored to Indonesia's needs. He believed a just and prosperous society based on democratic socialism lay ahead. What exactly Indonesian socialism should look like remained unclear. Likewise, Guided Democracy provided no specific steps to lift Indonesia to a "just and prosperous" state. The political struggle took primary focus while the new

[513] Sukarno, 60-61.
[514] Sukarno, 14.
[515] Sukarno, 17.

republic's economics took a back seat.[516] As Chapter 7 will demonstrate, Guided Democracy ultimately meant neglect of the nation's economy, leaving it in ruin.

Socialism as a means to create a "just and prosperous" society tapped into women's concerns for the welfare of their families. Perwari emphasized providing for family needs as women's highest priority. Consequently, many women supported development projects in the postcolonial period. Sukarno's continued struggle in the Spirit of 1945 did not indicate a fight for independence. The fight in the early 1960s was one of development. Elizabeth Martyn explained that the "fighting phase" was replaced by the "development phase," and complete independence meant socio-economic development that included building Indonesia's infrastucture and providing for the basic food, health, employment, and other needs of the people.[517] Perwari's "fighting women" struggled for their family's welfare, seeing it as the true test of independence. Martyn explained further the link between nationalism and development. In her analysis of post-colonial women's movements, she asserted that women recognized that securing national independence came only alongside development, and the population and the state needed to work together in such goals.[518] Consequently, women acted "as auxiliaries to the state."[519] National identity and development were so intimately connected that it was, in fact, difficult to separate them from gender interests.[520] Women supported national development because their personal and family needs depended on it. Furthemore, Perwari considered development women's responsibility. In 1961, Perwari's President S.

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[516] Schwarz, 17.
[517] Elizabeth Martyn, *The Women's Movement in Post-Colonial Indonesia: Gender and Nation in a New Democracy* (London: Routledge, 2005), 58.
[518] Martyn, 78.
[519] Martyn, 165.
[520] Martyn, 166.

Kartowijono proclaimed that it was the women, particularly those associated with Perwari, who would be able to achieve a society that was just, prosperous, and happy.[521] A "just and prosperous" society was exactly what Sukarno hoped to achieve through Guided Democracy, and Perwari leaders confirmed the important role of women in creating such a society.

One might imagine that Indonesian society in such a state of economic stress would encourage a series of humanitarian and social welfare projects among women's organizations. In contrast to the articles included in *De Huisvrouw*, the pages of *Trisula* included very little about humanitarian and social welfare projects. There were virtually no reports of projects women undertook to aid the poor and struggling in their communities. In this way, Perwari and its magazine portrayed a very different tone and focus than that of the Association of Housewives in Indonesia during the previous decade. While the Association of Housewives invested itself intensely in social welfare initiatives to recover from the war, Perwari devoted itself to the causes of unity and independence for Indonesia rather than local humanitarian efforts. The Association of Housewives could be characterized as a charitable organization in both the colonial and postcolonial eras. Whether it was to "uplift" or "rebuild," the Association of Housewives continually promoted acts of education and service. Perwari's nature differed from that of the Association of Housewives in that it, although considered apolitical, fostered a more politically active membership. Perwari's leaders advocated a mood of liberal feminism that focused on rights and women's equal opportunities. Such was more in the spirit of the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress. Where Perwari and the Association of

[521] Speech given by Perwari President S. Kartowijono,"Perwari Melangkah Kedepan," *Trisula*, 11(1), 6-7.

Housewives found similar ground was in their mutual commitment to empowering women to fulfill their roles as wives, mothers, and nurturers of the nation and its people. This quest spanned both eras and organizations.

The lack of project reports and appeals for service in *Suara Perwari* and *Trisula* should not be taken to mean that Perwari did not engage in any form of social work. Only periodically did Perwari mention its activities and accomplishments in the pages of its magazines. Perwari also asserted its belief that women's organizations had long held the important role of improving circumstances within the law, society, economy, health, education, and more. Perwari's work was, therefore, intended to aid the entire Indonesian public and women in particular.[522] Clearly, Perwari may be included among women's organizations that viewed themselves as catalysts for social change. This reality was evident upon Perwari's seventeeth anniversary in 1962, when the organization worked with other groups to build hundreds of schools, provide over eight hundred different courses (particularly in home economics), and continue fighting to eradicate illiteracy.[523] Perwari hoped through such efforts to provide educational courses to women and improve their economic situations.[524] For example, to assist women economically, the organization set up branches of a savings and loan (*simpan-pinjam*). Perwari was, thus, not ignorant of the needs of the nation but, rather, chose methods of national development that differed from those of the Association of Housewives.

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[522] From the Editor, "Antara Kita," *Trisula* 11(1), (January 1961), 5.
[523] Dr. J.R. Noor, "Pidato Peringatan 17 Tahun Perwari," *Trisula* 12(10-12), (Oct-Dec 1962), 7.
[524] G.P. Majur, "Berberapa kegiatan Perwari Djakarta Raya," *Trisula*, 11(8), (August 1961), 14-16.

Perwari Fights Dutch Imperialism

As of his nationalization of Dutch enterprises in 1957, Sukarno reacted to what he considered "economic imperialism" in Indonesia. It was during Guided Democracy that Sukarno's foreign policy took an anti-Western turn.[525] Such a tone, according to Sukarno, intended to "free Indonesia from all kinds of imperialism."[526] Furthermore, Sukarno asked all classes and groups who opposed imperialism to unite in the cause of the Indonesian Revolution.[527] Undoubtedly, the real enemy of the Indonesian revolution was imperialism. Sukarno believed that taking over Dutch businesses and ridding the region of any and all Dutch influence provided a way to eliminate imperialism.

Sukarno's anti-Dutch attitude along with the debate regarding imperialism centered squarely on New Guinea. In the final negotiations of late 1949, the Netherlands and Indonesian delegations at the Round Table Conference in The Hague had agreed to postpone decisions about West New Guinea (also known as Dutch New Guinea, West Papua, or Irian Barat). The settlement placed this territory under continued Dutch control but concluded that its final political status would be determined within the coming year.[528] The majority of Indonesians, however, considered the Round Table Conference agreements unjust because, as C.L.M. Penders noted in his book *The West New Guinea Debacle*, they "left the country in a semi-colonial status."[529] Indonesia had gained full sovereignty from the Netherlands, but not all territories that had been part of the Netherlands Indies had been included in the transfer of power.

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[525] Schwarz, 17.
[526] Sukarno, 11.
[527] Sukarno, 16.
[528] C.L.M. Penders, *The West New Guinea Debacle: Dutch Decolonization and Indonesia, 1945-1962* (Hindmarsh, S. Aust.: Crawford House Pub., 2002), 49, 84.
[529] Penders, 216.

The Dutch were particularly resistant to letting go of West New Guinea because of its history as a haven for Dutch-Indonesians. In the 1920s and 1930s, Eurasians in Java suffered from unemployment as the number of educated Indonesian civil servants grew rapidly. Competition forced many to abandon government employment and emigrate to West New Guinea. Eurasian organizations, further, encouraged independent entrepreneurship and requested both a separate administrative and political status of the territory.[530] To Eurasians and Dutch alike, West New Guinea become a Promised Land, where the unemployed could resettle.[531] By the outbreak of World War II, approximately 160,000 Eurasians had formed a distinct and privileged class in West New Guinea that considered themselves superior to Indonesians.[532] Independence aggravated Eurasians' situation as many remained loyal to the Dutch, thus, risking retaliation and murder between September 1945 and early 1946. This retaliation rekindled interest in immigration to West New Guinea again during the years of uncertainty from 1945-1949.[533] The importance of West New Guinea to Eurasians, and the hold they had gained over the territory, caused the Dutch to believe that the territory should remain part of the Netherlands.

As had been concluded in The Hague Agreement of 1949, however, Indonesia and the Netherlands reconsidered the future of West New Guinea when negotiations took place from December 4-27, 1950. Indonesia demanded nothing less that the territory's inclusion into Indonesia while agreeing to maintain Dutch financial interests, ensuring

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[530] Penders, 55-56.
[531] Penders, 57.
[532] Penders. 62.
[533] Penders, 62.

Dutch civil servants could remain, and safeguarding the world of Christian missions.[534] The question of West New Guinea was hotly debated in Dutch parliament, and Indonesia rejected any Dutch proposals that compromised their demands.[535] Talks failed and Dutch policy for the remainder of the 1950s was one of maintaining the status quo regarding West New Guinea.[536] Sukarno could not stand for this, however. In his Political Manifesto of 1959, Sukarno argued that a united Indonesian state included West Papua.[537] It was not until 1960 when the question of West New Guinea reached a boiling point. Indonesia broke off diplomatic relations with the Netherlands and increased armed infiltrations into the region.[538] It seemed that war over inclusion of West New Guinea into the Republic of Indonesia had begun.

Perwari gave full and vocal support to the cause of the liberation of West Papua from the Netherlands. *Trisula* continually provided updates and confirmation regarding the position of West Papua. At its conference in January 1961, Perwari stated clearly that it supported the government's fight to "free West Papua from Dutch colonialism." Likewise, Perwari joined in empathy with the people of West Papua by considering it a vital portion of the nation.[539] A unique way Perwari expressed such empathy through its magazine was by describing the traditional foods from the region.[540] A 1962 article clarified the goal of both freeing and developing West Papua, educating Perwari members about the would-be Indonesian province. First, the author provided information

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[534] Penders, 283.
[535] Penders, 284.
[536] Penders, 285.
[537] Sukarno, 14.
[538] Penders, 329.
[539] "Keputusan2 Kongres Perwari ke VIII," *Trisula* 11(1), (January 1961), 8.
[540] Sdr. Soekati Tjokrowirono M. Sc., "Makanan Saudara Kita di Irian Barat," *Trisula* 12(6/7), (June/July 1962), 6-7.

regarding West Papua's population, area, and terrain. Many tribes lived in West Papua, too, and there was a variety of animals and plants. Thus, the traditional foods depended on the region of the island. Further, cuisine common on the coasts differed from that in the wetlands as well as the mountains. While this article appeared to be a typical article appealing to housewives' interest in cooking, it also supported Sukarno's fight to take West Papua from Dutch control. It seemed that women could embrace West Papua's membership in the republic by understanding, the demographics, customs, and cuisine of the territory.

Perwari also showed its support of the war in West Papua through poetry, something periodically included in issues of *Trisula* and typically centered on political or national interests. A poem in the June/July 1962 edition of *Trisula* described Perwari's feelings regarding West Papua.[541] The poem used the letters of West Papua (*Irian Barat*) to begin each line.

I=ngat dikau masih didjadjah *R=asa tak rela menjesak dada* *I=ngin segera melepaskan belenggu* *A=pi revolusi berkobar ditiap pendjuru* *N=jala terus sampai tertjapai tjita* *B=EBAS! BEBAS! BEBAS!* *A=langkah merdu menggema* *R=antai pendjadjah pasti terlepas segra* *A=kan mendjelang masa gemilang nanti* *T=erikat erat dipangkuan Pertiwi.*	Remember thee still colonized The feeling cannot suffocate you Want to immediately release the shackles Fire of revolution blazes in every corner Flame continues until it achieves ideals FREE! FREE! FREE! What a melodious echo Colonial chains will certainly be released soon Will go towards a future brilliant time Tightly bound in Earth's lap.

This poem portrayed West Papua as encompassed in the chains of colonialism. To members of Perwari, Dutch control of the region demanded that Indonesia liberate it in

[541] Pungky, "Irian Barat," *Trisula* 12(6/7), (June/July 1962), 7.

the spirit of national revolution. This poem expressed both the permanent struggle that characterized Guided Democracy as well as its intention to end all forms of imperialism in Indonesia. The matter of West New Guinea was solved the following month, on August 15, 1962, when the Netherlands and Indonesia reached a settlement to tranfer the region into Indonesian hands by May 1, 1963.[542] Perwari proved its members to be "fighting women," who engaged in both ideological and military struggles.

Perwari and Asian Unity

Sukarno's anti-Western turn under Guided Democracy corresponded with a pro-Eastern push. As had been the case with the Bandung Conference of 1955, Sukarno encouraged good friendship between the Republic of Indonesia and the nations of Asia and Africa.[543] After Bandung, Indonesia proved itself an active participant in the Non-Aligned Movement. Perwari continued the international perspective it had established before Guided Democracy, but this focus seemed to expand in the early 1960s. This international focus continued to highlight a global sisterhood. Nearly every issue of *Trisula* in 1961 and 1962 contained pictures from female leaders from around the world, providing examples of women's potential. Other pictures illustrated the experiences of women in international conferences and cultural experiences. While Sukarno advocated solidarity between the nations of Asia and Africa, *Trisula* included pieces concerning cultures throughout the world. Those regarding Asian nations and Perwari's interactions with their Asian sisters dominated.

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[542] Ricklefs, 309.
[543] Sukarno, 13-14.

Several articles in *Trisula* informed readers regarding the customs and laws of other countries, particularly those with a Muslim majority. An article in the April 1961 issue of *Trisula* shared a piece from the *Pakistan News* about marriage law in Pakistan.[544] The article explained the relationship between Qur'anic teachings and marriage in Pakistan. In particularly, Pakistan had clarified regulations regarding polygamy to require men to receive permission from a governmental council to marry a second wife. A follow-up article about family law in Pakistan discussed divorce in the context of polygamy. The author explained that women in Pakistan had the right to divorce husbands who had married a second wife without receiving the proper permission.[545] Articles such as these would have interested an Indonesian audience, who also advocated marriage reform within the context of Islam. In the 1960s, Indonesian women's organizations still fought for marriage reform. They looked to countries such as Pakistan, which was both non-aligned and Islamic, to provide an example for Indonesia.

Just as in the 1950s, Perwari participated in international women's conferences and alliances of the early 1960s. In March 1961, delegates from Perwari attended the Associated Country Women of the World (ACWW) conference in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.[546] The conference focused on "The Role of Woman's Voluntary Organisations in Economic, Social and Cultural Development." This topic was important to Indonesian women during the Guided Democracy period as they, too, utilized civic organizations for the development of their nation. While international conferences in the 1950s had helped

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[544] Pakistan News, "Undang-Undang Perkawinan di Pakistan," *Trisula* 11(4), (April 1961), 28.
[545] Pakistan News, "Undang-Undang Keluarga Muslim sudah Berlaku di Pakistan," *Trisula* 11(8), (August 1961), 24-25.

[546] Nj. Muharam Wiranata Kusuma, "Sekitar Konperensi A.C.C.W. [sic] di Kuala Lumpur," *Trisula* 11(5), (May 1961), 6-7.

solidify Indonesia's status as an equal among nations, such conferences in the 1960s supported women's interest in national development. ACWW included approximately six thousand members from 110 organizations in thirty-four countries. The major concerns of this organization included the role of women's organizations in developing rural society; women's cooperative movements in Asia that intended to improve the economy; difficulties Asian women faced in exercising their rights and obligations as national citizens; training women as cadres to develop the fields of economy, culture, and society; securing government assistance for women's organizations that initiated programs for national development; and assisting the youth. Through its participation in conferences such as this one, Perwari expressed its determination to improve the situation of women in Indonesia and all of Asia. The struggles Indonesian women experienced seemed to parallel those of their Asian sisters. Through its activity in international women's affairs, Perwari strengthened unity within Indonesia and among Asia women's organization in general just as it had been doing since the mid-1950s.

Conclusion

Perwari's activities from 1959-1965 demonstrated its leaders' faith in Guided Democracy's ability to remedy the economic and social difficulties of the time. After only a few years, however, many women believed Guided Democracy was failing. When speaking in front of an Indonesian Women's Congress in Jakarta on May 19, 1963, Sukarno addressed these concerns. Sukarno paraphrased his critics, who had lately

declared, "We ask for food and clothing, not a speech!"[547] The promises of "Socialism â la Indonesia" had not been fulfilled, and Indonesian women grew impatient. Sukarno sympathized with the women at the 1963 Congress, saying that they—more than any other group of people—would understand the hardships of not having sufficient food and clothing for their families. Women, as caretakers of children and families, comprehended hardship in ways men, perhaps, did not. After such acknowledgement, Sukarno countered his critics by reminding listeners that he could not be expected to be Sinterklaas (traditional Dutch St. Nicholas) and simply give, give, give.[548] Rather, it was the people of Indonesia who needed to work. They would produce a "just and prosperous" society only as they struggled together. As he had advocated in his 1945 speech on Pancasila, Sukarno continued asserting that struggle and work would enable Indonesia to become a strong nation. "If we fight," he explained, "socialism will come."[549] But, it must be fostered, prepared, and fought for.[550] Just as he'd been doing in previous decades, Sukarno urged women in the early 1960s to submit concern over their own interests to the greater task of building national solidarity.[551] My research has demonstrated that women's organizations had been doing precisely that since the colonial period.

Ultimately, Guided Democracy failed to provide a "just and prosperous" society. Sukarno's program did, however, continue the Spirit of 1945 and re-establish Indonesia's

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[547] Sukarno, "Djangan Masuk Perangkap Kontra Revolusi." Message delivered by President Sukarno at the Indonesian Women's Congress in Senayan, Jakarta on May 19, 1963. Published by the Department of Information (Departemen Penerangan) of the Republic of Indonesia. Available at the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia.
[548] Sukarno, "Djangan Masuk," 6.
[549] Sukarno, "Djangan Masuk," 9.
[550] Sukarno, "Djangan Masuk," 15.
[551] Blackburn, 24.

complete independence from the Netherlands—economically and territorially. With Sukarno's neglect of the economy, however, he paved the way for his own downfall and the rise of Indonesia's next president. The structures Sukarno established under Guided Democracy provided the framework that Suharto would utilize in his development of the New Order program in Indonesia after 1965. As Joshua Barker noted in his discussion of nationalism in Indonesia, the foundation of authoritarian leadership established under Sukarno's Guided Democracy provided the seed for President Suharto's command over the republic.[552] Guided Democracy also transformed the women's movement. Blackburn noted the continuities between the women's movement during Guided Democracy and that of Suharto's New Order. She explained the difference, however. "Unlike the New Order period…during Guided Democracy the impact of the state on the lives of ordinary women was generally negative, due to the complete neglect of the economy in these years."[553] Women's hope in 1965, and Suharto's intention, centered on the socio-economic development of Indonesia.

[552] Joshua Barker, "Beyond Bandung: Develpmental Nationalism and (Multi)cultural Nationalism in Indonesia," *Third World Quarterly* 29(3), (2008), 530.
[553] Blackburn, 24.

CHAPTER 7: A NEW ORDER FOR HOUSEWIFE ORGANIZATIONS, 1957-1972

"Come together people of Indonesia, and build
Build a prosperous family with PKK
Comprehend and apply Pancasila for the State
Live in mutual self-help, prosperous in food, clothing and healthy housing

Appropriate planning in a neat and beautiful household
Educate your children to have strong personalities,
To become healthy and skillful people
Develop cooperatives, safeguard the environment
Safe and happy family planning, long live PKK"
("PKK March" of Family Welfare Education).[554]

The roles of women as wives and mothers have been intricately tied to women's obligations to nurture and develop the nation of Indonesia. Women's needs, likewise, have typically centered on their ability to successfully care for their families. Elizabeth Martyn's analysis of postcolonial women's organizations demonstrates that there was "remarkable consensus" among the variety of women's organizations in assisting women to fulfill their roles as wives and mothers.[555] These roles determined women's daily concerns and provided them with clear obligations to enrich the welfare of the nation. The success of the nation lay in the success of the household. The success of the household, however, lay in the development of the nation. "Development," with its man

[554] English translation of the "March of PKK" provided by Julia Suryukusama in *State Ibuism* (Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2011), 116.
[555] Elizabeth Martyn, *The Women's Movement in Post-Colonial Indonesia: Gender and Nation in a New Democracy* (London: Routledge, 2005), 98.

connotations to "uplift" (*opheffing*), "advance" (*kemajuan*), or "build up" (*pembangunan*) has played a central part in women's ability to care for their families. Guided Democracy proved that Sukarno's methods of development, with the goal of a "just and prosperous" society, did not improve conditions for many women, who struggled to provide enough food for their families. As members of Perwari devoted their energy to uniting the people of Indonesia under Pancasila, they found themselves unrewarded with marriage reform laws and left without adequate resources to fulfill their obligations as wives, mothers, or citizens. Family welfare and national development were intimately connected, but the experiences of the 1950s proved that the Indonesian government under Sukarno was unable to develop the nation in ways that promoted greater well-being in Indonesian households.

Women's organizations, such as Perwari, understood that the state could not always provide what the population needed. Perwari members recognized the lack of resources within the new republic. Additionally, Perwari leaders continued the tradition of women's organizations before it by empowering women to take charge in matters of development, working with the both governmental and with other women's organizations to provide for the people's needs of food, clothing, and education. One particular issue Indonesian women had been concerned with since the colonial period was education. The 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress, the Association of Housewives in Indonesia, and Perwari all promoted greater access to education among women. Education empowered women to better care for their families in ways that advanced national development. The Association of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies had encouraged its members to teach each other as well as the indigenous population about proper

hygiene, sanitation, and childcare. *Perikatan Perempuan Indonesia* (PPI) started a scholarship fund that provided girls with the money required to attend school, knowing that education would prepare them more adequately for motherhood. Perwari, too, proved its commitment to the advancement of women's education as a means for improving family welfare and advancing the economic and social health of the nation of Indonesia. Martyn clarified the postcolonial priorities in educational initiatives as including greater access to schools, elevating the level of adult literacy, and informing women about their civic responsibilities. Furthermore, the education of girls and women targeted the goal of keeping households "in order" and making "useful people." This could be accomplished through home economics education, in which women learned to become both good mothers and household managers. This, in turn, assured the health of the nation.[556] Women's organizations confirmed that national progress relied on educating girls and women about their obligations as mothers of the nation, and they could fulfill these obligations through proper training in the management of their homes and families.

Amidst its support and implementation of Pancasila under parliamentary democracy (1945-1957) followed by faith in Guided Democracy (1959-1965), Perwari turned its focus to women more immediate needs as mothers and housewives. The pages of *Suara Perwari* and *Trisula* were filled with recipes, articles about maintaining the health of one's marriage, suggestions for greater harmony in the home, advice about family planning, and advertisements for household products. These topics targeted women's daily activities and their ability to effectively care for their families. Perwari's leaders and contributors to its magazine understood that women's primary concern lay in

[556] Martyn, 82-83.

the home and that the success of the nation depended on family welfare. Women's organizations before Perwari had adhered to this philosophy, and Perwari confirmed it through its activities. Thus, while Perwari centered its organizational objectives on Pancasila and civic involvement, it embraced a trend in the late 1950s in which housewifery came to be equated with social and national progress. There was no doubt that Perwari supported the family as the basic unit of Indonesian society. As such, the association advocated governmental programs that would secure the welfare of the people in general and the welfare of families in particular.[557] Promoting Indonesian national development required women to ensure the well-being of their families as smaller units of Indonesian society. But first, women needed to receive proper education in how to care for their households.

National Development Through Home Economics Education

In the late 1950s and through the 1960s, both women and the state promoted home economics education, in particular, as a method of providing for family welfare and ensuring the success of the nation. In 1957, a program began in Bogor (West Java) that both confirmed and explored the role of home economics education in Indonesia's national development. Known as the Home Economics Seminar, this initiative aligned with areas of concern that Perwari, too, had been helping its members address. In September of this year, the Ministry of Health held a one-week seminar on the topic of "Home Economics" in the building of the Academy for Nutritional Education. Perwari reported in detail on the Home Economics Seminar, showing interest and support of the

[557] "Keputusan2 Kongres Perwari ke VIII," *Trisula* 11(1), (January 1961), 8-9.

latest research in the science of household and family management.[558] Participants included members of various women's organizations in addition to government ministries concerned with health and education. The goals established at the Home Economics Seminar as well as the topics discussed by its participants clarified the needs women hoped to meet for their families as well as the concerns government ministries had regarding household management. The Home Economics Seminar provided an opportunity for women's leaders, home economics experts, and interested government representatives to negotiate the relationships between women's roles as wives and mothers, appropriate education of girls and women, and the importance of home economics in the development of Indonesia as a nation.

Because the seminar's organizers utilized the English phrase "home economics," the Indonesian attendees may have been unclear what "home economics" actually meant within an Indonesian context. Seminar participants debated the meaning of home, economics, and home economics. They produced a variety of definitions, but the one they finally settled on defined home economics as "a knowledge of all that is concerned with family life."[559] More succinctly, it was family or household science. Furthermore, participants discussed the nature of the family and the roles of each member, seeking to define a family. They concluded that the family was a small society with father, mother, children, and other members (such as extended family). Each member had his or her respective duties, and the role of mother with its attendant responsibilities, while

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[558] S. Soemarmo, "Seminar 'Home Economics' di Bogor," *Suara Perwari*, 7(10), (October 1957), 8-10. Microfiche.

[559] S. Soemarmo, "Seminar 'Home Economics' di Bogor," *Suara Perwari*, 7(11), (November 1957), 8-9, 17. "H.E. adalah suatu pengetahuan (kennis) mengenai segala sesuatu jang bersangkutan dengan kehidupan keluarga."

demanding, was very noble. The mother's roles included the following: a member of humankind, a wife, a mother, the leader of the home, a member of society, and a citizen of the nation. Each of these roles for women required specific characteristics and responsibilities. In sum, to fulfill these roles, a woman needed to be noble in character and spirit, have thorough knowledge of family management, and understand society and citizenship. The ties between women's roles, family welfare, and one's social or citizenship responsibilities was clear. Indonesian women had long connected their roles as wives and mothers to national development, but the Home Economics Seminar clarified their responsibilities and how to effectively fulfill them. More particularly, the Home Economics Seminar insisted on the importance of effective family and household management—training women in the latest home economics trends—as a means to both family and national well-being.

Participants in the Home Economics Seminar also established the purpose and objectives of home economics. The purpose was to, "study and investigate the sciences concerned with family life to maintain, improve and enhance the standard of life leading to the welfare and happiness of the family."[560] First and foremost, home economics intended to aid families. It was a means to improve domestic life. This was women's primary concern, which had been largely neglected due to the upheaval attendant in occupation, war, and securing Indonesia's political independence. The seminar also established objectives for the meeting to clarify how individuals could support the purpose of home economics. Seminar participants aimed to expand and enrich methods

[560] S. Soemarmo, "Seminar 'Home Economics' di Bogor," *Suara Perwari*, 7(11), (November 1957), 8-9, 17. "mempeladjari dan menjelidiki ilmu2 jang bersangkatan dengan kehidupan keluarga untuk memlihara, memperbaiki dan mempertinggi taraf kehidupannja menudju kesedjahteraan dan kebahagiaan keluarga."

of living; obtain a life philosophy that benefitted family life; foster personal integrity to benefit society; learn how to resolve problems in the family; and increase the ability to prepare for work in the field of home economics.[561] They linked women's personal enrichment with family welfare and social well-being, seeing home economics as a strategy for ensuring all three.

Lecturers who presented at the Home Economics Seminar in Bogor in 1957 discussed the particular needs of rural families in Indonesia. Soewardjo of the Ministry of Agriculture explained to seminar participants that seventy percent of Indonesian families were farming families.[562] The vast majority of these families lived in poverty. Entire families worked hard to provide for the family's needs, but the result was still an inability to meet basic necessities. The author explained that only five percent of farming families on Java were able to live a decent life. Because this topic was discussed at the Home Economics Seminar, it is clear that experts and government ministers sought to improve the conditions of life in rural villages through educating them regarding more effective household management. The author asked specifically for initiatives to help rural families that would improve the condition of water and the land, build seed and storage barns, and expand farm credit. Soewardjo anticipated that these actions would help to limit poverty in the countryside. Seminar participants noted that because the burden of women in the villages proved extra strenuous, home economics enthusiasts should seek methods of relieving rural Indonesian families' living conditions. As women's organizations had advocated in previous decades, relieving women's basic burdens would allow them the

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[561] Ibid.
[562] "Keluarga Tani," by Sdr. Soewardjo. Speech given at the September 1957 Home Economics Seminar. Included in *Suara Perwari* 7(11), (November 1957), 20-21, 26.

freedom to better assist their children. Educating women, particularly those in the villages, would result in greater health of the family and, consequently, the nation.

Perwari's organizational activities into the 1960s aligned with the goals of the Home Economics Seminar in promoting women's ability to effectively manage home and family. For example, in the April/May 1962 issue of *Trisula*, a contributor outlined the three primary concerns of a housewife,[563] centering on the following: *masak*, *manak*, and *matjak* (cooking, bearing children, and make-up). According to the author, the responsibility of housewives to cook included everything dealing with the economy of the home. It was a wife's responsibility to manage the income obtained through her husband's work and to avoid any extravagance that would prove to ruin the household. Also, a wife must remember that "the way to her husband's heart is through his stomach."[564] Thus, a woman should make dishes her husband enjoyed. As for *manak*, a woman's duty to bear children included educating and spending time with them. This is a responsibility that Indonesian had advocated at the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress as well. The third concern, *matjak* or "make-up," entailed maintaing a clean and appealing home as well as caring for her husband's and children's clothing. These concerns had been considered "women's work" in previous decades, but the home economics movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s in Indonesia reinstated the woman as the steward over family welfare. The Indonesian nationalist movement and revolution had promised women that independence would lead to individual and family welfare. Neither independence nor Guided Democracy changed the necessary role of

[563] Dh. Soes, "Tugas Ibu Rumah-Tangga," *Trisula* 12(4/5), (April/May 1965), 29.
[564] In Indonesian, "Tjinta suami itu datangnja dari perut." Meaning, a husband's love comes from his stomach.

women in family and national development. Consequently, the home economics movement removed responsibility for family welfare from the state and rested it squarely on the shoulders of wives and mothers.

Rather than viewing national development as a means to improve family welfare, the home economics movement considered family welfare the key to improving the nation. In many ways, this reignited the work of the Association of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies, who proposed that development of the Indies began with improving household and family management practices. In truth, it is difficult to separate family welfare from social and national development. The home economics movement, however, emphasized family welfare as a higher priority. The rhetoric surrounding home economics education strayed from the "mothers of the nation" discussions of the 1928 Women's Congress and, instead, emphasized family harmony and prosperity. If the nation could not be "just and prosperous" under Guided Democracy, perhaps women could help their families to be such. Women initiated family welfare projects in their homes that only later, as will be shown in this chapter, were adopted by the state as national development projects.

For instance, women initiated family planning as a means of personal and family happiness and prosperity. Scholar Solvay Gerke, writing about the topic in 1992, believed that women gained significantly from modern contraception because it allowed them to control an important aspect of their lives and take personal responsibility for changing their lives.[565] Indonesian women recognized the benefits of family planning. An article in

[565] Gerke, Solvay. "Indonesian National Development Ideology and the Role of Women," *Indonesia Circle* vol. 21 no. 59/60 (Nov. 92/Mar. 93), 49.

the June/July 1962 issue of *Trisula* explained the history of family planning in the United States and the role of Planned Parenthood in various countries of Asia.[566] The intent of this article seemed to be to convince readers that family planning did not intend to stop women from having children (something many religious Indonesian would have assumed); rather, it was an effort to reduce the number and timing of children. The author referred to the example of a twenty-year-old woman pregnant with her seventh child. Through effective family planning, women could avoic such situations that were dangerous to their health and that placed heavy financial and other burdens on mothers. Around the same time as the Home Economics Seminar in Bogor, a Family Planning group began in Jakarta in 1957 to educate women about family planning. The primary goal of this group when educating women about family planning was to remember the health of both mother and child. The next year, the Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association was established.[567] Perwari supported a movement among women in the 1950s and early 1960s that encouraged family planning because of the positive effects it would have on the health and welfare of women and their families. Only later did Suharto's New Order promote nationwide family planning initiatives.

Just as the participants in the Home Economics Seminar had been, Perwari concerned itself with the situation of women in the villages. A 1961 articles about the role of women in development explained the importance of women in Indonesia's progress.[568] The author, a Dr. Soeharto, discussed the need for much greater development

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[566] N.S. "Soal Family Planning," *Trisula* 12(6/7), (June/July 1962), 27-28.
[567] Martyn, 90.
[568] Dr. Soeharto, "Peranan Wanita dalam Lapangan Pembanguan," *Trisula* 11(3), (March 1961), 20-22. Note: This would not have been the same Suharto who became President six years later. This was likely Sukarno's personal doctor.

in rural areas of the country. He explained that it was important for rural society to receive education regarding health and cleanliness. Some of the skills the author advised teaching in the villages were purifying water for the needs of the household, properly preserving food, preparing foods in a way that retained their nutrients, effectively laundering clothing, and much more. The conditions for rural women in Indonesia demonstrated that lack of development often stemmed from individuals' lack of knowledge and skills pertaining to household management. Perwari's leaders recognized this. Consequently, they supported a home economics movement in the villages because they believed that teaching women home economics would ensure greater health and happiness within their families. The author of this article believed that such development of families provided the foundation for developing Indonesian society. Pancasila or Guided Democracy gave direction to national development, but the training in and implementation of home economics would provide immediate relief and development to rural areas.

From the late 1950s through the mid-1960s, Perwari participated in a home economics movement, whose primary focus lay in improving the welfare of the family. Only through the practical application of effective household management strategies could women ensure the well-being of their families and, consequently, the nation. While Perwari women under Guided Democracy did not display the spirit of "Mothers of Indonesia" as their predecessors had done, they nevertheless perceived themselves as soldiers in a struggle for the nation through the socio-economic development of Indonesia. They remained fighting women as before, but the home economics movement turned women's interests away from nationalism towards efforts at improving living conditions

for their families and communities. It was a movement towards development from within the home that prioritized family welfare above that of the nation while underscoring the intimate relationship between the two.

Suharto Replaces the Old Order with the New Order

While women's organizations incorporated a home economics movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the political and economic circumstances of Indonesia continued to decline. It should be no surprise that national circumstances dictated women's approach to development, learning they could not rely on Guided Democracy to provide for their families' welfare. The work of development lay in the hands of the women themselves. As Saskia Wieringa notes, Guided Democracy had been disastrous, leading to mismanagement and corruption.[569] By 1965, the country was in shambles. Sukarno had taken a clearly anti-Western turn and pulled Indonesia out of the United Nations in January 1965.[570] Additionally, Sukarno's health worsened in August 1965.[571] Perhaps the most notable effect of Guided Democracy was its neglect of the economy. Under Sukarno, the government had almost completely lost control of it.[572] Upon the final days of his presidency, Indonesia had a negative growth rate, 600 percent inflation, no foreign reserves, and a national debt of over two billion US dollars.[573] Finally, the Indonesian army and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) had been competing, and

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[569] Saskia Wieringa, *Sexual Politics in Indonesia* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 105.
[570] Adam Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia's Search for Stability* (Oxford: Westview Press, 2000), 18.
[571] Schwarz, 18.
[572] Damien Kingsbury, *The Politics of Indonesia*, 2nd Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 46.
[573] Michael R.J. Vatikiotis, *Indonesian Politics under Suharto: The Rise and Fall of the New Order*, 3rd edition (London: Routledge, 1998) 33.

tension was high by 1965.[574] Sukarno's failing health had contributed to this competition between the army and the PKI as did Sukarno's allegiance to PKI and ties with China.[575] Within this context, Sukarno faced the end of his administration.

The end for Sukarno came with the September Thirtieth Movement, a coup attempt that resulted in Suharto's taking control of the nation. On the night of September 30, 1965, six generals and one lieutenant were kidnapped, killed, and dumped into a well at the Halim Air Force base, where pro-Sukarno coup plotters based themselves. (The armed forces chief of staff, General Nasution, had also been on the kidnappers' list but managed to escape.) Led by Lieutenant Colonel Untung, the kidnappers claimed their actions were intended to prevent an imminent coup by a supposed Council of Generals, who sought to topple Sukarno.[576] The following morning, 2,000 troops occupied Medan Merdeka in central Jakarta as they took control of the presidential palace, the radio station, and the telecommunications centre.[577] Sukarno fled to his palace in Bogor while authorizing Suharto to restore order.[578] General Suharto, of the Army Strategic Reserve Command, had not been involved in the coup and, consequently, took control of the army, navy, and police after Sukarno instructed him to do so.[579] That night, troops overran the Hilam Air Force base, and the coup was over approximately thirty hours after it had begun.[580]

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[574] Kingsbury, 48.
[575] Kingsbury 49.
[576] Schwarz, 19.
[577] M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c. 1200*, 4th Edition (Stanford, CA: Standford University Press, 2008), 319.
[578] Ricklefs, 326.
[579] Ricklefs,311, 319.
[580] Schwarz, 19.

Suharto and the army placed sole blame on the PKI for instigating the coup. PKI declared its support of the coup but portrayed the movement as a struggle within the army.[581] Consequently, the following day, Suharto banned the PKI and all its affiliated organizations.[582] The army, which had long opposed the PKI, now concluded that annihilation of the party was the only reasonable solution.[583] Whatever the true story behind the September Thirtieth Movement, what resulted was a bloodbath and massacre of somewhere between 100,000 and 500,000 deaths of communists and those suspected of communist ties.[584] In order to end division and establish order in Indonesia, Suharto rid the country of opposition—particularly the PKI.

Suharto demanded that Sukarno blame the PKI for the coup and remove it from Indonesian politics forever. Sukarno, however, refused.[585] This, along with Sukarno's reshuffle of the cabinet in February 1966, irked Suharto and the hightest military offers. Sukarno's new cabinet challenged Suharto, but Sukarno maintained enough support that Suharto could not, as yet, openly challenge him.[586] The turning point came with the "March 11 Letter," in which Sukarno assigned General Suharto "to take all measures considered necessary to guarantee security, calm and stability of the government and the revolution and to guarantee the personal safety and authority [of Sukarno]."[587] Facing the threat of unidentified troops assembling outside the cabinet meeting and students creating chaos, Sukarno took this measure to allow Suharto and his troops to stabilize a tense

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[581] Ricklefs, 320.
[582] Schwarz, 26.
[583] Ricklefs, 320.
[584] Schwarz, 20. Schwarz accepts the most common estimate of between 300,000-400,000 deaths. Damien Kingsbury also estimates that 300,000-400,000 PKI members were killed in the massacres but notes other estimates up to a million and a half political deaths between 1965-1970. See Kingsbury, 47.
[585] Schwarz, 22.
[586] Schwarz, 25.
[587] Cited in Schwarz, 26.

situation.[588] Damien Kingsbury asserts that senior military officers pressured Sukarno to sign this letter, convincing Sukarno that it would buy him time. In reality, the opposite occurred.[589] Sukarno had now, essentially, given Suharto permission to replace him. In March 1967, the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly named Suharto Acting President of Indonesia.[590] He became President one year later, in March 1968, and was re-elected six times, finally resigning in 1998.[591] Suharto ushered in a new era of Indonesian history that did, indeed, provide stability and economic development to the nation.

The "New Order" encompassed Suharto's program for establishing order in the nation. The pressure for change had been building under Sukarno's leadership (the Old Order), and many Indonesians believed the country needed its military to establish a stronger government.[592] Suharto presented his New Order in a speech to his cabinet in April 1967. He explained the New Order as "the implementation of an entire livelihood of society, the people, and the nation of the Republic of Indonesia aimed at the purification and implementation of Pancasila and the Constitution of 1945."[593] As Sukarno had intimated with Guided Democracy, Suharto also intended with the New Order. Both asked for a return to the 1945 Constitution and the ideals of the revolution. In fact, both Sukarno's and Suharto's long-term goals for Indonesia looked the same: "Achieve a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila in which is contained the

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[588] Schwarz, 25.
[589] Kingsbury, 52.
[590] Ricklefs, p. 332.
[591] Vatikiotis, 2.
[592] Schwarz, 28.
[593] Soeharto, *Orde Baru* (Surabaya: GRIP, 1967), 5. "Orde Baru adalah tatanan seluruh perikehidupan Rakjat, Bangsa dan Negara Republik Indonesia jang diletakkan kepada kemurnian pelaksanaan Pantjasila dan Undang-undang Dasar 1945."

United Nation of the Republic of Indonesia and which implements a world order that is based on liberty, lasting peace, and social justice."[594] Some histories portray this New Order as the antithesis of the Old Order. Adam Schwarz argues that such histories are "deeply flawed." He believes there were important continuities particularly from the Guided Democracy period to the New Order including the role of the army, a powerful presidency, a shared sense of nation, and a tradition of corruption and nepotism.[595] My own research on women's organizations indicates that Sukarno's Guided Democracy period did, indeed, pave the way for Suharto's New Order by advocating the role of a strong leader and proposing development towards a "just and prosperous" society.

Suharto, however, considered the New Order an attempt to repair the damage caused by the "Old Order," or Sukarno's Guided Democracy. He stated that the birth and ideals of the New Order were a reaction and correction to the "deviant practices" from the past time period.[596] The New Order used Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as the framework for development and stability. As Adam Schwarz explains, Pancasila's signficance raised under Suharto from its already revered status under Sukarno. He explains that it was the New Order that "elevated Pancasila to the status of an ideology."[597] The hallmark of the New Order was stability, and it was through stability that development could best continue. Consequently, the New Order was based on government structures and targets for political and economic stability. Suharto also

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[594] Soeharto, 6. "Mewujudkan masjarakat jang adil dan makmur berdasarkan Pantjasila dalam wadah Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia, dan ikut melaksanakan ketertiban dunia jang berdasarkan kemerdekaan, perdamaian abadi dan keadilan social."
[595] Schwarz, 3.
[596] Soeharto, 5. "Dilihat dar prosesnja, lahirnja tjita-tjita mewudjudkan Orde Baru itu merupakan suatu reaksi dan koreksi prinsipiil terhadap praketk-praktek penjelewengan jang telah terdjadi pada waktu-waktu jang lampau, lazim disebut zama Orde Lama."
[597] Vatikiotis, 95.

provided the strong leadership necessary to secure order in the country. Under the New Order, the structure of the political system remained intact while the influence of all those outside the executive branch waned.[598] Indonesia would have stability, but this came only in sacrificing democratic practices and institutions.

In addition to providing stability to the country, the New Order set Indonesia on a course of socio-economic development. As Schwarz explains, "political 'order' and economic development…were seen as two sides of the same coin."[599] The years of Sukarno's administration proved that independence from the Netherlands had brought neither political order nor economic development to Indonesia. The New Order aimed to remedy these pressing concerns through programs that would streamline governmental and civic institutions towards the cause of development. National economic development distracted Indonesians from the massacres that had accompanied Suharto's rise to power. Historian of Southeast Asia Michael Vatikiotis explained that memory of the 1965 massacres faded under the New Order's program of national development (*pembangunan nasional*).[600] Whereas Sukarno had neglected economic development in favor of political development, Suharto emphasized the opposite. Economic development took precedence under the New Order.[601]

Development may be considered the primary goal that characterized the New Order. Solvay Gerke explained, "*Pembangunan* (development) became the central term around which the new ideology of nation building should concentrate." Furthermore,

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[598] Schwarz, 30.
[599] Schwarz, 29.
[600] Vatikiotis, 34.
[601] Vatikiotis, 93.

Suharto expected the masses to support national development.[602] Women's organizations had long supported national development and considered their citizenship or national obligations more important than securing rights. By focusing on development, the Indonesian state formalized mindsets and processes that women's organizations had fostered since the colonial era. Under the New Order, however, Suharto's role as the leader of Indonesian development replaced grassroots-led initiatives with state-run programs under his guidance. He referred to himself as Indonesia's Father of Development" (*Bapak Pembangunan*) and called each of his cabinets "Development Cabinets."[603] Local and state bureaucrats confirmed the centrality of development projects under the New Order. For instance, every new development project included elaborate ceremonies by those officals overseeing the project.[604] Suharto wanted to convince the population through the New Order and its development programs that the Indonesian state would, indeed, secure progress for the nation. Under Sukarno, Indonesian women had been asking for relief from economic distress. The promises of revolution had not been fulfilled. Competing factions hindered the advancement of nation building. Consequently, Suharto instituted a program that aimed to alleviate the specific complaints Indonesians had posed against Sukarno.

Suharto's development programs specifically targeted the problems facing Indonesia under Sukarno's leadership. In his analysis of development, Ariel Heryanto explains that development programs are almost always linked to problems such as

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[602] Gerke, Solvay. "Indonesian National Development Ideology and the Role of Women," *Indonesia Circle* vol. 21 no. 59/60 (Nov. 92/Mar. 93), 45.
[603] Joshua Barker, "Beyond Bandung: Develpmental Nationalism and (Multi)cultural Nationalism in Indonesia," *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 3, 2008, 534.
[604] Barker, 535.

population control, hunger and poverty, natural resources, technology, and the military. These are not imagined problems but, rather, real and immediate concerns of the population.[605] Furthermore, the idea of "development," (*pembangunan*) under the New Order indicated creation or the building of a nation out of nothingness.[606] Suharto's push for development, thus, constituted the creation of a nation that, while independent since 1945, lacked a complete identity as a sovereign nation.

As women's organizations had asserted since the colonial era, women's role in development was significant. The Association of Housewives and Perwari had both emphasized the connections between women fulfilling their citizenship obligations and the welfare of the nation. They considered themselves on the forefront of development whether or not state institutions assisted in their efforts. Suharto, too, confirmed the important role of women in development. Mayling Oey-Gardiner explained this well in her discussion of women and development in Indonesia. She stated, "From the beginning, Suharto's New Order political machinery determined a role for women in the context of national development. This was not a role set in the context of power in the outside world, but a more traditional one centered on the family."[607] Under the New Order, women assisted in national development through their responsibilities as wives and mothers. As my research has emphasized, such had been the case since the colonial era of Indonesian history. Both Dutch and Indonesian women had considered their responsibilities as wives

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[605] Ariel Heryanto, "The Development of 'Development," Translated by Nancy Lutz, *Indonesia*, vol. 46 (October 1988), 2.
[606] Ibid, 12.
[607] Mayling Oey-Gardiner, "And the Winner Is…Indonesian Women in Public Life," In *Women in Indonesia: Gender, Equity and Development*, Kathryn Robinson and Sharon Bessell, eds. (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002) 100-112, 102.

and mothers vital to the welfare of the nation. Housewife organizations, consequently, encouraged their members to embrace these roles not only in the interest of their families but also for the improvement of their communities and nation.

The New Order permeated women's lives, responding to their complaints of prior years while advancing women's interests for the welfare of the nation. Population control concerned Suharto greatly. At the time, Indonesia's fertility rate was 5.6 births per women. This birthrate hindered the economic growth of the nation and placed greater demands not only on parents but also on the state. Consequently, the New Order's first priority for women was to limit their fertility.[608] Women's organizations, including Perwari, had been educating their members about family planning since the 1950s. Articles in *Suara Perwari* underscored the importance of birth control measures in advancing family welfare rather than as a state-run means of population control.[609] As Martyn, Gerke, and I have recognized, women had promoted family planning for their own development before the Suharto established the National Institute for Family Planning in 1968, which became Indonesia's National Family Planning Board in 1970.[610] What differentiated the New Order's family planning program from the work of women's organizations was that now the state promoted family planning for its interests of national development and population control. A state family planning policy could not succeed, however, without the help of women. They played a central role in the development

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[608] Susan Blackburn, *Women and the State in Modern Indonesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 152.
[609] Martyn, 90-91.
[610] Terence H. Hull and Valerie J. Hull, "From Family Planning to Reproductive Health Care: A Brief History," in *People, Population, and Policy in Indonesia*, ed. Terence Hull (Jakarta: Equinox, 2005), 21; Gerke, Solvay. "Indonesian National Development Ideology and the Role of Women," *Indonesia Circle* vol. 21 no. 59/60 (Nov. 92/Mar. 93), 49.

process as they carefully planned their families.[611] Women had begun the trend of family planning for their own well-being and that of their families. The New Order recognized the benefits of this trend on the national level and incorporated it into state-led programs.

Before Sukarno could recruit women to support national policies on family planning, however, he needed to attend to marriage reform. It was in the context of the New Order that women's requests for marriage reform found state support. In 1966, Suharto moved responsibility for marriage reform from the Ministry of Religion to the Ministry of Justice and instructed them to prepare a marriage law based on *Pancasila*.[612] This law was discussed in parliament in 1973 and became law in 1974.[613] The Marriage Law of 1974 allowed government maneuverability.[614] Women had received the changes they had been advocating, leaving Suharto open to request women's support of family planning and other development programs.

Family planning would not work without women's support and the assistance of women's organizations in particular.[615] Gerke explains that "the hallmark of Suharto's New Order was the totally successful extension of state power to all corners of society."[616] This included women's organizations. With the New Order, national development reached levels of society untouched during the Old Order. The New Order mobilized the military, technocrats, and the masses all for the common goal of development.[617] Suharto restructured the government as well as social organizations.

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[611] Gerke, 47.
[612] Martyn, 144.
[613] Martyn, 144; Blackburn, 25.
[614] Blackburn, 130-31.
[615] Blackburn, 130.
[616] Vatikiotis, 96.
[617] Gerke, 46.

Women's organizations such as Perwari were either greatly weakened or banned as women were forced into Suharto's official state women's organization, such as Dharma Wanita (Women's Service).[618] This organization was designed for the wives of civil servants and characterized the New Order's view of women as wives and mothers. According to the principles of Dharma Wanita, a women's duty was to be 1) her husband's companion; 2) the manager of the household; 3) the reproducer of offspring and an educator; 4) the secondary wage earner; 5) and a citizen of society.[619] Dharma Wanita integrated women's citizenship responsibilities in ways that confirmed the importance of women's roles of wife and mother. Under the New Order, wives' organization, in general, dominated. Through such organizations, women could find opportunities to socialize while addressing the needs unique to wives of men in particular occupations such as the military, civil service, and medicine. Martyn proves through her analysis that such organizations did not originate in the Suharto era, however.[620] The Suharto era changed the nature of women's organizations by eliminating politically inclined groups and expanding the role of wives' organizations. Suharto considered wives' organizations important vehicles "for government propaganda on development."[621]

Furthermore, "New Order women's organizations themselves were entrusted with the task of keeping women in their proper place, just as the political machinery set up by

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[618] Blackburn, *Women and the State*, p. 25.
[619] Carla Bianpoen, "PKK:Berkah Atau Beban?" in Oey-Gardiner, Mayling, Mildred L.E. Wagemann, Evelyn Suleeman, and Sulastri, Eds. *Perempuan Indonesia: Dulu dan Kini* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1996), 197
[620] Martyn, 62-63.
[621] Khofifah Indah Parawansa, "Institution Building," in *Women in Indonesia: Gender, Equity and Development*, Kathryn Robinson and Sharon Bessell, eds. (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), 71.

the Generals had ensured that any remnant of socialist thought was wiped out."[622] Through New Order women's organizations, Suharto could maintain order and stability—and eliminate opposition—by ensuring that these groups aligned with state policies. Likewise, women's position was placed only in relation to her husband and children. They were only seen in such positions and not as independent individuals.[623]

New Order Integration of Housewife Organizations

From 1965 to 1972, Suharto's New Order combined with the home economics movement of prior years to lead to New Order integration of housewife organizations into one state-run institution called Family Welfare Development (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or PKK). The Home Economics Seminar held in Bogor in September 1957 marked the beginning of the formal creation of what became PKK. As a follow up to the Home Economics Seminar, the Department of Education and Culture invited experts and representatives from various departments to create a curriculum for a implementation of a program that would teach home economics called Family Welfare Education (*Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or PKK).[624] The group identified ten aspects of family life that required education inside and outside of schools. The Department of Education and Culture intended to work together with the Director of Social Education in this endeavor. In combination with women's organizations, the

[622] Wieringa, *Sexual Politics*, 343.
[623] Gerke, 48.
[624] Siti Saudah Marwan, *Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (CV. Ramadhani, 1972?), 3.

Department of Education and Culture would, thus, develop the villages.[625] The success of the Home Economics Seminar and the actions resulting from it provided the foundation for a state-run housewife organizations that implemented home economics as the basis of national development.

PKK had expanded by 1967 when the Governor of Central Java established PKK throughout the province. His wife, Istriati Moenadi, has been credited with taking the initiative to use PKK as a means of improving the conditions of women and families in her provice, for whom she felt a great responsibility. The Central Java government set up PKK training centers to promote PKK in the province.[626] It was after the success of PKK's implementation in Central Java that the Ministry of Internal Affairs recommended that PKK expand into all of Indonesia. On December 27, 1972 the Menteri Dalam Negeri sent out Telegram Number SUS 3/6/12 to all the governors of Indonesia, which changed the name of PKK to (Family Welfare Development) *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*.[627] The establishment of PKK reconfirmed the New Order's belief that national development began with the family.[628] Women's organizations had understood this principles in prior years, and PKK reconfirmed it. While male government officials enacted PKK, women supported these actions. Furthermore, women had engaged in home economics education and advocated its relevance to national development since the

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[625] Marwan, 3.
[626] Source material about PKK's history is very difficult to find. A few websites include a brief history of the movement including http://tp-pkkpusat.org. This is an area of Indonesian social history begging for additional research.
[627] In Indonesian: The name has evolved over the decades from Family Welfare Education to Family Welfare Development (Pembinaan) to its current Family Empowerment (Pemberdayaan) and Welfare. The switch from "Developing" to "Empowering" corresponds to similar name changes in the Ministry for Women's Affairs to the Ministry for Women's Empowerment in the year 2000.
[628] Gerke, 47. Note that Gerke uses the date of 1973 as the beginning of PKK. In fact, the government established PKK as a nationwide program on December 27, 1972.

colonial era. As such, it should not be categorized as a patriarchal initiative but rather government cooptation of existing initiatives of housewife organizations. Additionally, housewives had requested state assistance in their roles as mothers seeking to develop the nation by providing for their families' welfare.

The December 1972 letter to the governors of Indonesia that established PKK as a state-run organization for housewives incorporated all adult women in Indonesia into a formal organization that merged women's roles as wives and mothers with their citizenship obligation to support Indonesian national development. To combine these responsibilities, PKK proposed sectors of development for Indonesian society based on proper household and family management. This organization, which remains active in Indonesia today, exemplified the results of decades of negotiation between housewives and political leaders in empowering women to participate in the development of Indonesian society. According to PKK's own website, it is a "movement for the development of society."[629] Its existence stems resulted from New Order development initiatives while its existence was made possible only through the work of housewife organizations who engaged in development projects from the colonial era through Sukarno's administration in Indonesia. PKK's earliest areas of concern that would provide for family welfare while developing the nation can be found in its ten areas of concern, as listed in an early organizational handbook:

1. Family Relations
2. Education for Children
3. Healthful Food

[629] From the PKK central website: http://tp-pkkpusat.org.

4. Proper Clothing
5. Sanitary Housing
6. Spiritual/Mental Health
7. Healthy Household Economy
8. Household Governance
9. Internal and External Safety
10. Sound Family Planning[630]

PKK advocates believed that greater attention to these areas of education would modernize the villages, develop family welfare, and help Indonesia achieve a "just and prosperous" society based on Pancasila.[631] The pursuit of healthful food, sanitary housing, proper clothing, and a health household economy specifically addressed women's concerns about the well-being of their families. PKK intended to address the problems in Indonesia's society and economy that had been negatively affecting women. Instruction regarding family relations, education for children, and household governance supported reforms that women had been advocating since the colonial period when the 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress voiced women's concerns regarding family relations and education. Sound family planning provided an example of a PKK objective that aligned with government policies but had been originally established by women to support family welfare. Through each of these areas of concern and education, women could ensure the welfare of their homes and families; in turn, the nation of Indonesia would grow develop into a "just and prosperous" society that Sukarno had failed to establish.

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[630] Marwan, see cover.
[631] Marwan, 4-5.

In this early handbook of PKK, the author, Mrs. Siti Sudah Marwan, identifyied the nature, content, and purpose of PKK. She explained that a prosperous family would entail a harmonious household full of love in which each person had his or her own responsibilities to support the welfare of the family.[632] The clearest manner of ensuring this welfare was through raising standards of health and cleanliness in the home. Consequently, PKK pupils should be instructed in the following: hygiene, medicine, food science, gardening, eliminating small animals that threatened one's health, and belief in an all-loving God, cleaning the house, caring for fowl and fish, and more. Family members should also learn skills such as sewing, cooking, and caring for children.[633] Education in these areas served a twofold purpose: providing for the welfare of each family members and modernizing their way of life.[634] Home economics training to all of Indonesia's women would lead to the health and well-being of individual families. Likewise, improving family welfare would benefit and develop the entire nation as it strove to achieve the socio-economic prosperity of Western nations. Blackburn explains the significance of PKK to the New Order's development programs. She argues, "PKK was the means by which the state mobilized ordinary women behind its development efforts, obliging them to carry out tasks in a voluntary capacity."[635] My work demonstrates that women had been carrying out these tasks—voluntarily—since the colonial era precisely because they felt a deep sense of responsibility to their nation. Rather than asking women to take on a new series of responsibilities, PKK incorporated all women in Indonesia into a state-run housewife organization that expanded the scope

[632] Marwan, 9.
[633] Marwan, 11.
[634] Marwan, 10.
[635] Blackburn, 26.

of housewife organizations of prior years. Additionally, PKK was in a unique position because of its nationwide representation to offer "assistance to needy groups, individuals and local communities."[636] PKK combined local bureaucracies with nationwide programs to permeate every home in the country—and, thereby, securing the welfare of the entire population.

Conclusion

Indonesia's history of housewife organizations culminated in the establishment of PKK. This organization, while state mandated, continued the objectives and activities of housewife organizations before it. The Association of Housewives, Perwari, and other women's groups had embraced their roles as wives and mothers as the means to assist in national development. Providing for their family's welfare required involvement in community and national endeavors first to liberate Indonesia from the Dutch and then to secure stability in the new nation. Women had long sensed the benefits they could provide to their nation through educational and social welfare projects. With the establishment of PKK, housewives confirmed that home economics education could develop the nation just is it had uplifted it under the Dutch.

PKK today is hotly debated. Its establishment in 1972, however, came as a direct result of the evolution of women's organizations since the colonial era, through Japanese occupation and national revolution, through parliamentary democracy, Guided Democracy, and the New Order.

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[636] Lies Marcoes, "Women's Grassroots Movements in Indonesia: A Case Study of the PKK and Islamic Women's Organizations," In *Women in Indonesia: Gender, Equity and Development*, Kathryn Robinson and Sharon Bessell, eds. (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), 187-197, 191.

But, scholar Elsbeth Locher-Scholten has asked, are the roots of PKK to be found in the colonial period?"[637] She concludes that, yes, colonialism promoted a cult of domesticity among women who were closest to and best known by the Dutch: Christian rural women and women of the elite. The foundations for a cult of domesticity formed during this time period, but the elite had not yet developed organizational structures and methods to perpetuate this cult to the Indonesian middle and lower classes. Thus, in the colonial period, "the PKK would have been an impossibility."[638] This impossibility stemmed not from lack of development initiatives or women's commitment to using their responsibilities as wives and mothers for the good of the nation. Rather, structures had not been established to create a nationwide development program that guided, trained, and managed women in both family and national welfare activites. PKK formalized at a national and state-based level the very activities and principles housewife organizations had been advocating for decades.

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[637] Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, "Colonial Ambivalencies: European Attitudes towards the Javanese Household (1900-1942). In *Women and Households in Indonesia: Cultural Notions and Social Practices*, edited by Juliette Koning, Marleen Nolten, Janet Rodenburg, and Ratna Saptari, 28-44 (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000), 29.

[638] Locher-Scholten, "Colonial Ambivalences," 43.

CONCLUSION

Philippa Levine points out in her introduction to *Gender and Empire* that throughout colonial history, the mark of civilization followed the treatment of women. She states, "Women became an index and a measure less of themselves than of men and of societies."[639] In many regards, this test of civilization centered on women's rights. Did they have the right to vote? Had the state passed marriage reform laws? How much access did women have to education? Whether or not women had obtained these rights seemed to indicate how "modern" or "developed" a nation was. The history of housewife organizations in (colonial) Indonesia from 1900-1972 demonstrates that women's enactment of citizenship obligations—in addition to their attainment of rights—has been an index of Indonesian society and its path towards both independence and socio-economic stability and prosperity. As housewives fought for the welfare of their families, they participated in nation-building activities and development projects that both they and government leaders hoped would "uplift," "advance," and "develop" the archipelago. Women played a key role in national development as wives and mothers and elevated their responsibilities in these roles to the pursuit of this goal.

The Netherlands Indies and then Indonesian governments, likewise, relied on women's organizations to determine society's level of development and modernization.

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[639] Philippa Levine, Ed. *Gender and Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, 7.

In order to extend state ideologies into individual homes, the government required women's cooperation in supporting national policies and strengthening national identity. This created an interdependent relationship between women's organizations and political institutions as women relied on the state to provide sufficiently for their families while the government needed women to engage in its development initatives. As Martyn explains, the governments need for women's organizations "enabled women to participate in nation-building."[640] Housewife organizations empowered women to participate in civil society and to articulate their needs to state officials. At the same time, women's needs were supported by the state only "to the extent to which they addressed state priorities."[641] This reality required women's organizations to create their own solutions to problems that the government was either unwilling or unable to solve. My work highlights women's efforts to meet both their own and the state's needs before government policy had officially recognized and addressed women's concerns.

Indonesia's primary need over the course of the twentieth-century was national development. Such development included unifying the people of the archipelago in support of independence as well as providing for their socio-economic welfare. For the Netherlands, national unity demanded allegiance from Dutch settlers in the Netherlands Indies to continue a colonial mission that maintained the region under Dutch control. Development centered on the Ethical Policy's objective of educating the population, which housewives did through educational and social welfare activities meant to "uplift" the indigenous population. For Indonesian women in the first half of the twentieth

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[640] Elizabeth Martyn, *The Women's Movement in Post-Colonial Indonesia: Gender and Nation in a New Democracy* (London: Routledge, 2005), 98.
[641] Martyn, 99.

century, national development consisted of a movement to unite a diverse population. Women agitated for greater access to education, marriage reform, and other rights, but they viewed Indonesian nationalism as the strategy for expanding their own rights. Indonesians anticipated that national unity, leading to independence, would provide the means for economic security and stability. During World War II, wartime needs took precedence, and the nationalist movement garnered greater support from the Indonesian masses.War mobilized women to protect their families while engaging them in activities meant to address the immediate needs of providing food, clothing, and medical assistance for the population. From 1945 into the early 1950s, women's organizations united for the cause of national reconstruction after war. Social welfare needs took priority, and housewife organizations cared for both family and community as they helped society recover from occupation and war. Yet even into the 1960s, the Republic of Indonesia had not stabilized poltically nor economically. Under Guided Democracy, housewife organizations supported the government without being able to adequately secure their family's welfare with enough food and clothing. With the rise of Suharto's power in Indonesia, the New Order brought stability to the fractured new nation. The New Order's push for development responded directly to women's demands for assistance in caring for their families and communities while continuing the the state's reliance on women in order to develop, modernize, educate, and nurture the population.

I have hoped this work has demonstrated the vitality of the housewife organizations, such as the Association of Housewives and PKK, or the work of women's organizations targeted towards a general populace, such as PPI and Perwari, in creating the "imagined community" of Indonesia and supporting its socio-economic development.

In particular, I have intended to show that civic organizations such as those discussed in this work have responded to national and global phenomena by enacting measures to address the corresponding local and family needs of each instance of socio-political upheaval. While housewife organizations have not actively fought for women's political or civic rights, they have contributed significantly to assisting women in fulfilling their citizenship obligations including reproducing national identity and culture and securing national development by caring for their families and communities.

My work also demonstrates the continuities found in women's activities amidst the transitions of war, national liberation, and authoritarian rule. Indonesia's history confirms that the path to decolonization and the legacies of decolonization encompassed years of political and social upheaval. Amidst the tumult, housewife organizations from the colonial era into Suharto's New Order provided a consistent resource for alleviating the population's troubles, maintaining national unity, educating Indonesians in home economics, and petitioning government leaders for assistance in ensuring family welfare. Women's domestic and civic activities corresponded to each period of political transition. From "foot soldiers" of the empire to "fighting women" of the republic, women living in the Netherlands Indies and Indonesia nurtured their families and communities through the political transitions inherent in twentieth-century Indonesia in ways that responded to shifting development needs. In 1995, President Suharto's wife, Tien Suharto, said the following in the opening remarks of a book commemorating women's struggle in the 1945 revolution:

> "Now, after half a century of our nation's independence, the role and contribution of women is still very necessary. Certainly, the struggle to seize and maintain independence is different than the struggle for development. Times have changed. Our age now and forever is the age of hard work to realize the ideals of freedom, to realize a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila. Nevertheless, there are powerful forces that we still maintain and preserve, this arena of power has made our struggle successful in the past. That power is unity and unity among us as well as the fighting spirit that burns and high sense of devotion to the people and the nation."[642]

Tien Suharto confirmed the evolving nature of Indonesia's needs during the twentieth century, but what never changed was the need for women's active participation in their communities in order to establish freedom, justice, and prosperity. Housewife organizations provided the opportunities and tools to accomplish this work to the greatest extent possible.

Hard work and fulfilling one's citizenship obligations defined housewives' activities from 1900-1972. The hard work of the colonial era focused on a civilizing mission in which Dutch housewives of the 1930s aimed to provide examples to their Indonesian sisters. From teaching Indonesians about cleanliness and personal health to gaining greater love for the indigenous population, Dutch women recognized their responsibility within the context of the Ethical Policy to repay a "debt of honor" to Indonesians. By finding ways to "uplift" Indonesians and assist the poor in the *kampungs*, Dutch housewives sought to develop and modernize the population in the Netherlands Indies. The Association of Housewives in the Netherlands Indies provided an example of active humanitarian service that continued after 1945 and into the early 1950s. Under the direction of leaders such as President Abdul Kadir, the Association of Housewives in

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[642] Kata Sambutan oleh Ibu Tien Soeharto, 4 Mei 1995 (p. x*). Seribu Wajah: Wanita Pejuang dalam Kancah Revolusi '45* Buku Pertama (Jakarta: Grasindo Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia, 1995).

Indonesia engaged in tangible projects and initiatives that helped the new nation adapt to postwar realities. At a personal level, housewives in the new nation learned to communicate with each other and understand one another's cultures as they joined in support of an Indonesia that included them all. By assisting the poor and needy, the Association of Housewives emphasized women's obligation and privilege to enrich their communities and assist them in times of turmoil.

In addition to providing signficant social welfare service, housewife organizations created greater unity among Indonesian women and pursued development projects that met these women's needs as wives and mothers. The 1928 First Indonesian Women's Congress carried through the work of the Indonesian nationalist movement, which had begun in 1908. As leaders of dozens of women's organizations met together, they discussed the importance of education and marriage reform for the establishment of a prosperous nation. Similarly, Perwari in the period of parliamentary democracy in Indonesia viewed the five principles of Pancasila as a strategy for uniting Indonesia as well as developing its society.

The need that seemed to win housewives' final allegiance, however, was stability. After years of political, social, and economic tumult, followed by Sukarno's failed attempts at development, both housewives and the Indonesian state identified stability as their primary goal. As Suharto's New Order eliminated dissent in Indonesia, women's organizations streamlined into those few that highlighted the structure of a nuclear family—the sign of stability and modernity in New Order Indonesia. Applying the latest research in home economics, housewives educated their families and communities as they had in the past. PKK expected women, as housewives, to unite in their efforts for

both the welfare of their families and the welfare of the nation as a whole. Such housewives built on the heritage of women's organizations before them—a heritage intended to develop an archipelago's families and communities.

EPILOGUE: PKK AND "STATE IBUISM"

PKK has come under criticism in more recent years. Julia Suryakusuma has been particularly concerned about what she designated "State Ibuism." Her 1988 MA thesis on the topic, only recently published in book form, circulated among scholars of Indonesian women and established a framework for understanding the role of PKK in government management of the nation.[643] In this work, Suryakusuma argues, "The official social construction of womanhood in Indonesia under [Suharto's] New Order was determined by the state in the interests of maintaining its power and control over society....[PKK] served as the primary mediating body between the state and village women, especially in rural settings." She explained her perspective of this mediation further by arguing that PKK arbitrated authoritarian, paternalistic power; domestication; *priyayization* [rule by the elite] and ibuism; a militaristic, hierarchical structure; the nuclear family norm; state-led capitalist development; and *Pancasila*.[644] It is difficult to contradict Suryakusuma's claims as PKK provides ample evidence of state ideologies and power structures saturating every neighborhood in Indonesia. Its structure and activities support

[643] Julia I. Suryakusuma, Julia I., Nugraha Katjasungkana, Tam Notosusanto, and Uswatul Chabibah. *Ibuisme negara: konstruksi sosial keperempuanan Orde Baru = State ibuism: the social construction of womanhood in New Order Indonesia* (Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2011).
[644] Suryakusuma, 105.

government oversight of the populace. Additionally, PKK relies on women's role as homebound housewives within a nuclear family subject to male oversight and leadership.

Suryakusuma's notions of state ibuism have become widely accepted among scholars. In *Back Door Java*, Jan Newberry agrees with Suryakusuma and further argues, "What the nationalization of PKK has ultimately accomplished, is the state-sponsored promotion of a new social category—the *ibu rumah tangga* (housewife)—and the conscription of Indonesian women, particularly those of the lower classes, as unpaid social welfare workers."[645] Both Suryakusuma and Newberry view housewifization as a Western concept applied within PKK.[646] Newberry's critique is harsh. Her use of the word "conscription" connotes the involuntary responsibility of women to serve the nation. Indeed, members of PKK militaristically wear uniforms, follow leaders, support government initiatives, and sing a march. Likewise, PKK members and leaders are unpaid. Their husbands receive income for their work, and it is assumed that such payment covers women's efforts as well.

A study of the history of housewife organizations in modern Indonesian history, however, calls for a reassessment of notions of State Ibuism as discussed by Suryakusuma. Placed in its earliest historical context, PKK provided an immediately practical remedy for the ills facing a new and unstable nation. It supported Pancasila and "gotong-royong," to which organizations such as Perwari had adhered since 1945. Furthermore, PKK intended to "complete the revolution" by developing Indonesia. As women asked Sukarno for an form of Indonesian socialism that provided food and

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[645] Jan Newberry, Back Door Java: State Formation and the Domestic in Working Class Java. (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2006), 16.
[646] Suryakusuma, 3.

clothing, Suharto's "New Order" answered with a state-controlled program for development. PKK was based on precedent; women's organizations had long declared allegiance to Indonesian national ideologies and had proved with their actions that they sought to develop society through educational and social welfare initiatives.

The theory of state ibuism also assumes that social welfare and care-giving work require payment in order to be legitimate and appreciated and that obeying one's government is a sign of suppression. Some consider PKK a method of obtaining work from women without reciprocal attention to their own needs or rights. According to Solvay Gerke, "women are asked to identify themselves with the national development objectives, but they do not gain any personal benefits from doing so."[647] I question this assertion and call for further research in determining the advantages for women in participating in national and local development projects. Under the New Order, it is clear that the state coopted housewife organizations and traditional citizenship duties in order to meet its own needs in the quest for national development. Such a reality, however, should not negate the richness and prosperity possible in a country in which each woman is recruited to oversee the social welfare of all. Such an approach to women's organizations builds on long-standing structures of local authority in Indonesian cultures while supporting modern Indonesian state policies.

Furthermore, assertions of state ibuism ignore women's agency. They neglect women's own interests in supporting PKK goals and assume lack of enthusiasm among the general population. PKK provides legitimate means to improve local and national

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[647] Solvay Gerke, "Indonesian National Development Ideology and the Role of Women," *Indonesia Circle* vol. 21 no. 59/60 (Nov. 92/Mar. 93), 48.

conditions by using immediately useful methods. PKK has lasted over four decades as an organization, continuing long past Suharto's New Order. Its success should not be ignored, and women's continued enthusiasm for PKK and its activities indicate the program's functional applicability in Indonesian society. PKK grants housewives opportunities to engage in civic activities otherwise absent in their lives. My understanding of PKK aligns with theories and evidence proposed by social policy scholar Ruth Lister. Her analysis of women's citizenship asserts that a feminist citizenship project must give due accord to women's agency rather than seeing them as victims of male-dominated institutions.[648]

Global feminists today continually struggle with strategies for aiding women in underdeveloped nations while not forcing Western, industrialized notions on the native population. They recognize that the most effective activities rely on local women's initiatives. A major benefit to PKK is that it is uniquely Indonesian. It attends to the needs of a newly independent nation that seeks both family welfare and national development in a young nation. PKK also focuses on the needs of rural women. It presents these women with education and leadership opportunities that would otherwise be denied them. While PKK may not work in other nations, it seems appropriate for Indonesia. PKK allows women in remote areas to find meaning in their role as Indonesian citizens by involving them in national institutions, activities, and welfare initiatives.

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[648] Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, 2nd ed. (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 6.

What I see as the greater challenge of PKK rather than its use by the state is its outdated structure that relies on nuclear family structures. An organization such as PKK that encourages its members to get educated and develop practical skills must find more ways to incorporate women who are not married and/or have careers outside the home. In Indonesia today, there are more and more women who work outside the home and marry later in life. If PKK is going to flourish, it must accommodate modern changes to women's lives and lifestyles. For example, what happens if a single woman wants to become the head of her local PKK group? Additionally, how well does PKK assist working women with higher education to interact with women who have lower levels of education? Indonesia would benefit from strategies that allow cooperation between women of different backgrounds and life experiences.

Indonesian author Carla Bienpoen defended PKK as an important mechanism of the development of Central Java." She acknowledged that PKK has been opposed by feminist activists because they think it weighs the position of husbands as more imporant the the potential of women themselves.[649] She reminds these critics, however, that it was Mrs. Isrijati Moenadi, wife of the governor of Central Java, who developed PKK for Central Java. She did so in order to ease hunger and health problems and educate the many illiterate citizens of the province.[650] Perhaps PKK was more applicable to the needs of the province of Central Java but denied the diversity of Indonesia's entire population of women. PKK did, in fact, find success in Central Java, but Bienpoen recognizes that it could not find such success everywhere because of varying levels of education. The

[649] Carla Bianpoen, "PKK:Berkah Atau Beban?" in Oey-Gardiner, Mayling, Mildred L.E. Wagemann, Evelyn Suleeman, and Sulastri, Eds. *Perempuan Indonesia: Dulu dan Kini* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1996), 195.
[650] Carla Bianpoen, 196

author presented case studies of PKK leaders and concluded that PKK's potential influence was dependant on the "alignment of talent, background, and level of education." Because the value of PKK is so dependent on individual women, it can could be a "trigger for self-actualization" or simply a cause of more stress.[651] As with most governmental and organizational programs, its success depends upon context and individual.

Suryukusama's critiques of PKK provide valuable insight into the inner workings of the organization. PKK clearly differs from previous housewife organizations in Indonesia because it was government initiated, government run, and one aspect of a larger bureaucratic structure. Like previous housewife organizations, however, PKK's intent is to include the larger majority of Indonesian women in its membership. Likewise, PKK integrates nationalist ideologies into its goals and activities. Previous housewife organizations, too, depended on the voluntary efforts of its members in order to function and participate in educational and humanitarian activities. It is the voluntary nature of women's organizations that seem to define their very existence.

What I call for is a reassessment of PKK that places it within the context of housewife organizations in Indonesian history. Housewife organizations have been essential to the development of Indonesian society in each period of its modern history. Additionally, PKK should be considered a result of negotiations between housewives and the state. It was women who asked for greater government oversight and assistance, and the government, in turn, asked for women's loyalty to the state. Rather than eliminating women's agency in the creation and perpetuation of PKK, it would be better to analyze

[651] Carla Bianpoen, 210.

the activities initiated by women's organizations in comparison to those fostered by the state.

In general, insufficient research has been conducted regarding PKK. As a major element of both Indonesian history and women's organizations, PKK deserves further analysis and critique. Its continued existence indicates its value and potential in Indonesia, though its inability to fulfill its promises or meet the needs of many Indonesian women demands its restructuring. In a country that has longed for unity, development, and stability, PKK is one possible solution that may be amended and retooled to shape the needs of Indonesian women and society.

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VITA

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Liberty P. Sproat

EDUCATION

PhD, History, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, expected May 2015
Graduate Minor: Women's Studies
Dissertation: "Nurturing Transitions: Housewife Organizations in (Colonial) Indonesia, 1900-1972"

MA, History, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, August 2008
Thesis: "How Soviet Russia Liberated Women: The Soviet Model in Clara Zetkin's Periodical Die Kommunistische Fraueninternationale"

BS, History Education, Utah Valley University, Orem, Utah, April 2005

BA, European Studies, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, December 2000

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION AND RESEARCH GRANTS

Purdue Research Foundation (PRF) Research Grant, June 2014-May 2015 ($16,000)

Travel Grant to research in Indonesia, United States-Indonesia Society (USINDO), May-July 2014 ($2,000)

Woodman Travel Grant to research in Indonesia, Department of History, Purdue University, 2013 ($800)

Critical Language Scholarship to study in Indonesia, U.S. Department of State, 2012

Woodman Travel Grant to research in the Netherlands, Department of History, Purdue University, 2012 ($800)

Summer Language Program to study in Indonesia, United States-Indonesia Society (USINDO), 2011

Study Abroad Scholarship to study in Indonesia, Department of History, Purdue University, 2011 ($1,000)

Travel Grant to research in the Netherlands and Germany, Department of History, Brigham Young University, 2007 ($1,500)

Rotary International Exchange Student to the Netherlands, 1995-1996

ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

Teaching/Research Assistant, Department of History, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, August 2010–Present

Part-time Lecturer, Department of English, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, January 2009–August 2010

Adjunct Instructor, Department of History, Ivy Tech Community College, Lafayette, Indiana, August 2008–August 2010

Adjunct Instructor, Academic Skills Advancement Department, Ivy Tech Community College, Lafayette, Indiana, August–December 2008

Teaching Assistant, Department of History, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, September 2006–August 2008

Adjunct Instructor, Department of History and Political Science, Utah Valley University, Orem, Utah, August 2006–April 2008

Adjunct Instructor, Department of English, Utah Valley University, Orem, Utah, August 2005–August 2008

COURSES TAUGHT OR ASSISTED

Historiography and Historical Methods
History 200, The Historian's Craft, Brigham Young University

Global History
History 104, Introduction to the Modern World, Purdue University
History 105, Survey of Global History, Purdue University
History 202, World Civilization since 1500, Brigham Young University
History 235, World Civilizations I, Ivy Tech Community College
History 236, World Civilizations II, Ivy Tech Community College

Twentieth-Century European History
History 337, Europe in the Age of the Cold War, Purdue University
History 331, Twentieth-Century Russia, Brigham Young University
History 307, Europe Since 1914, Brigham Young University

Asian History
History 241, East Asia and the Modern World, Purdue University

American History
History 1700, American Civilizations, Utah Valley University
History 101, Survey of American History I, Ivy Tech Community College
History 102, Survey of American History II, Ivy Tech Community College

Writing Across the Curriculum
English 106, Introductory Composition, Purdue University
English 420, Business Writing, Purdue University
English 2020, Intermediate Research Writing, Utah Valley University
English 025, Writing Skills II, Ivy Tech Community College
English 032, Reading Skills II, Ivy Tech Community College

PUBLISHED ACADEMIC ARTICLES

"Housewife Organizations, Political Transitions, and Development in Twentieth-Century Indonesia," *Yearbook of Women's History*, (forthcoming)

"Housewives Educating for a United (Inter)National Indonesia," *Inside Indonesia*, (forthcoming).

"The Soviet Solution for Women in Clara Zetkin's Journal Die Kommunistische Fraueninternationale, 1921-1925," *Aspasia*, vol. 6 (2012), p. 60-78.

"A Historiographical Look at the New Soviet Woman," *The Thetean*, vol. 36 (2007), p. 79-94.

"Woman as Technology in the Weimar Republic," *Crescat Scientia*, vol. 3 (2005), p. 55-75.

"Fritz Lang's Metropolis: The First Science Fiction Film as a Social Commentary of Germany and the United States and a Prediction of Nazi Germany," *Leading Edge*, Issue 45 (April 2003), p. 24-33.

BOOK REVIEWS

Review of Michelle Marchetti Coughlin's *One Colonial Woman's World: The Life and Writings of Mehetabel Chandler Coit*, H-Empire, January 2014.

Review of Jean Spence's (Editor) *Women, Education, and Agency, 1600-2000*, H-Education, January 2012.

Review of Paul Shankman's *The Trashing of Margaret Mead*, H-Education, October 2011.

Review of Renate Simpson's *The Development of the Ph.D. in Britain*, H-Education, June 2011.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

"Educating a New Indonesia: Housewife Organizations, National Unity, and Household Management, 1945-65," Asian Studies Association of Australia, University of Western Australia, Perth, July 2014.

"Every Housewife Matters: PKK and Women's Citizenship Responsibilities in Indonesia," The Meaning of Citizenship, Center for the Study of Citizenship at Wayne State University, Detroit, MI, March 2013.

"Mothers United, Mothers Divided: Relationships Between Women's Organizations in Post-WWI Netherlands Indies," Women's Organizations and Female Activists in the Aftermath of the First World War: Moving Across Borders, College of Liberal Arts at Hamline University, St. Paul, MN, May 2012.

"Performing Citizenship: Women's Tools of Political Participation in the Dutch East Indies," American Historical Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, January 2012.

"The Competition for Feminists: The Communist Struggle for Women's Allegiance in the 1920s," School of Liberal Arts and Science Lecture Series, Ivy Tech Community College, February 2009.

"A Historiographical Look at the New Soviet Woman," New Directions in Critical Theory, University of Arizona, March 2007.

"Creating a Civil Rights Experience for Secondary Education Students," National Association of Multicultural Education, Kansas City, October 2004.

"Hiding Under a Bushel," Art, Belief, Meaning Symposium, Brigham Young University Museum of Art, November 1999.

ADDITIONAL ACADEMIC AWARDS & HONORS

Quintilian Award (Top 10 percent of instructor evaluations for Introductory Composition), Purdue University, May 2009

Honorary Lecturer, School of Liberal Arts and Science Lecture Series, Ivy Tech Community College, January 2009

Outstanding Graduate Student of the Year, BYU History Department, 2007-2008

Outstanding Graduate Paper in European History, BYU History Department, 2007

DeLamar and Mary W. Jensen Graduate Fellowship in Early Modern European History, BYU History Department, 2007-2008

Second-place essay winner, Martin Luther King, Jr. Commemoration, Utah Valley University, 2004

Full-tuition scholarship, UVU Education Department, 2004-2005

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Volunteer Religion Instructor for Children, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, West Lafayette, Indiana and Orem, Utah, 2011-present

Volunteer (Indonesian and Malay), Teaching Resource Center, Missionary Training Center, Provo, Utah, 2013-present

Volunteer Religion Instructor for Teenagers, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, West Lafayette, Indiana, 2009-2011

Volunteer Driver, Meals on Wheels, Lafayette, Indiana, 2008-2009

Resident Manager, Clayton Apartments, Orem, Utah, 2006

Neighborhood Chair for Brigham Young University (acting liaison between Provo City Council and residents of BYU), Provo, Utah, 2001–2002

Contestant, Miss Orem Scholarship Pageant, 1998

Volunteer (Dutch and German), Teaching Resource Center, Missionary Training Center, Provo, Utah, 1997-1999

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Historical Association, 2010-present

Purdue History Graduate Student Association (Secretary), 2011-2012

National Council for the Social Studies, 2004-2009

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

German, advanced

Dutch, advanced

Indonesian, intermediate-high, ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interview, 2012

French, basic

INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

Indonesia (Jakarta), Summer 2013, June 2014

The Netherlands (Leiden), October 2012

Indonesia (Malang), Summer 2012

Indonesia (Yogyakarta), Summer 2011

The Netherlands (Amsterdam) and Germany (Berlin), Summer 2007

United Kingdom (Liverpool, England), 2002-2003

BYU German House (Provo, Utah), Summer 1998

Germany (Munich), Summer 1997

The Netherlands (Texel), 1995-1996

Additional overnight or multi-night excursions to Canada, Wales, Scotland, France, Belgium, Denmark, Austria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Japan, China, Hong Kong, Macau, Singapore, the Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand.